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Timid Neutrality

The Republican Dilemma

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS

on Cooperation

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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THE fall of Tsing-tao means that Japan holds the most important commercial center in China. It is not a mere fortress which has been taken, but the concentration point for railways which tap the richest parts of one of the great undeveloped empires of the world. The nation which controls Tsing-tao will in the end dominate the economic and consequently the political life of China. For the present, Japan holds the gateway. After the war Japan has promised to discuss with China what is to be done with it. In the meantime let there be no illusion about the nature of the conquest. By seizing not only the fortress but the railway from Tsing-tao to Tsinanfu, and, if the reports are true, the section of the Tientsin-Pukow line from Tsinanfu to Tientsin, Japan has taken possession of what is the key to China's development. The question for the future is the terms on which Japan will relinquish this gigantic prize. She has sacrificed men to get it—will she abandon it without compensation? And what compensation will she ask? Will it be a clear title to South Manchuria, or will she act on the technical point raised recently that the restoration of Tsing-tao to China was promised on the condition that Germany would not resist and sacrifice Japanese lives? When the fate of four hundred million people and an economic empire are at stake, a clear statement from Japan would seem to be required.

IN the public schools of New York City there are about 18,000 women teachers. Of these about 1,300 are married. In recent years sixteen married teachers, fourteen in the elementary and two in the high schools, have either absented themselves or applied for leave of absence because they were soon to bear children. The Board of Education has refused to grant such applications. It has virtually said that New York cannot see its way to having any of its teaching done by mothers with babies. Mayor Mitchel has just taken the first step toward getting New York out of this unhappy position. He for leave of absence in this case for a suitable period put an end to all this discussion, and instead of working injury to the schools, be likely to do them a great deal of good?" In a remote future the mayor of some American city will probably put these questions to its board of education: "Have we not too many childless women teachers in our schools? At what age do pupils become too old to receive with profit most of their instruction from women without children?"

IN the Franco-Prussian War, as in the war of 1866, money played a minor rôle. The Prussians won at Sadowa, the Germans won at Sedan and Metz, long before any severe strain was felt upon the national finances. What happened in 1870 might also have happened in 1914. Had France been crushed by the great German drive through Belgium, had French armies surrendered and Paris capitulated, had Germany, with her second line troops holding France, been able to carry on a successful campaign against Russia, the war might conceivably have ended before Germany had suffered financially or economically. A prostrate France would have paid for her own conquest as well as for the war against Russia. But to-day these hopes of speedy conquest are gone. The French line stiffens from Alsace to the Channel; the fighting recedes from Paris to Flanders; the German armies stand on the defensive on two fronts, and the hope of a crushing blow first at France and then at Russia becomes every day fainter. The war has become a war of endurance. A war of endurance is a war of wealth, for men hold out longer than dollars. Germany has already lost about a million trained men in killed and wounded and missing, but she has millions to spare. Even though epidemics sweep through the camps and the strain upon the individual soldier increases, still the war goes on. Nor does national bankruptcy end war. A government may lose its credit, and its paper money be worth only its weight in paper,

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when it is impossible to provide food and clothes, horses and fodder, cannon and copper and gasoline, then the war halts. When the industrial organization breaks down, when mechanics and clerks cannot find work to do, when a decimated population is idle, then the nation is beaten. The blockade of the German and Austrian harbors, the shutting off of the two great empires from commerce with the outer world, is thus more dangerous than the loss of a million soldiers. It is the beginning of industrial paralysis.

BRITISH writers on the war say that if the Allies win they will neutralize the Kiel Canal, probably by the annexation to Denmark of the territory which includes it. If this happens it will constitute a remarkable reversal of an historical law. Heretofore the custom has been, when concluding a war, to take something away from Denmark. A slice of Denmark or a colonial possession or two has always been awarded either to one of the belligerent powers or to some other worthy nation. At times portions of the empire not caring to wait for another war voluntarily detached themselves. As a result of this process Denmark has become a very small country indeed, particularly at high tide. The proposal to give back something might cheer the melancholy Dane, were it not for the cold-blooded condition which accompanies it. The unfortunate nation is to have its neutrality guaranteed.

A GREAT general once observed that there were a hundred ways to get an army into England, but how were you to get it out again? That very difficulty confronts us in Mexico. We went to Vera Cruz to eliminate Huerta. We did eliminate Huerta. But that did not end nor begin to end our problem. The situation which we had hoped to create through that elimination was not created; though Huerta is gone, the ghost of Huerta walks. Mexico still trembles on the verge of civil war. Villa sends ultimata and post-ultimata to Carranza, and Carranza accepts without accepting. As between these leaders we do not know whom to trust, and we do not know what responsibility we have assumed for those whom we do not trust. Our ships lie inactive in the harbor of Vera Cruz and yet we cannot leave, for to leave too soon would be dangerous for Mexico and for us. It is uncomfortable to hold the bear by the tail, but it is still worse to let go.

THERE is always a story and an "inside" story. The one is what you read, the other is what your friends whisper to you. But sometimes things

German War Office" by Dr. Armgaard Karl Graves, Secret Agent. From the book we gather that there are few events in modern history to which Dr. Graves did not contribute something. He was present, for example, at a secret meeting between Haldane, Churchill, Kiderlin-Waechter, General von Heeringen, Admiral von Tirpitz, and one Moritz Ritter v. Auffenberg. The book contains a facsimile of a note written by the head of the German Secret Service on which these important names appear. What surprises us is that the head of the Secret Service and the author of these startling revelations should both consistently misspell the name of the former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by making it Kinderlen-Waechter instead of Kiderlin-Waechter. It also occurs to us to wonder why Dr. Graves' secret service card should have a seal dated "1912" when so many events in which it played a part happened before 1912. It also occurs to us to wonder why this Imperial German seal should look so much like a rubbing from a two-mark piece of the coinage of 1912.

A BIG rush of immigrants is expected at the close of the war, and it is of the utmost importance that the country should prepare now to receive it intelligently. We have at the moment a breathing spell in which to calculate our policy. We have time now to lay plans by which newly arrived laborers may find it easy, or easier, to distribute themselves over the country, time to organize a system of national federated exchanges, which is the real way to begin any scientific handling of immigration, as well as unemployment. This is also the time to fortify by governmental and voluntary means the American standard of living. The chief instruments are the labor union, a legal national minimum and cooperative experiment. For the war has shown that the community in all the wider ranges of business no longer meet its needs by unorganized and haphazard individual effort.

PEOPLE living in the Fourth Congressional District of New Jersey have been receiving copies of a speech by the Hon. Allan B. Walsh, delivered at Basking Ridge, N.J., last July fourth. The speech was sent out free of postage in Mr. Walsh's congressional frank, as it was made a public document "by unanimous consent of the House of Representatives." This statement, which appears on the title page of the document, is calculated to impress the less informed among Mr. Walsh's constituents with the notion that he is considered at Washington so big a man that the House decided to republish his Fourth of July speech for free distribution. As a

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that franks his washing home. He makes what is only a customary use of the franking privilege, but it is that sort of thing that makes the American Congress the most costly and burdensome legislative body that ever existed in the history of the world. There is absolutely no parallel to the pay and emoluments which Congressmen vote themselves. In 1908 the cost of housing and supplying the British Parliament—with a membership about twice that of our Congress—was $1,330,000 as against $13,788,886 for the same items, at Washington. The comparison is really much more favorable to Congress than it should be, for it leaves out of account millions charged to other departments, such as the franking privilege which falls on the post-office department, and garden seed distribution which falls on the agricultural department.

GREAT events produce great ideas. The Massachusetts legislature, as a result of the Lawrence strike in 1912, was stricken with the idea that red or black flags had to be kept out of parades. especially when they bore the inscription "No God, No Master." So of course the law-makers made a law. This done, we presume the masters felt relieved; how God felt we don't know. And then came the first decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Chief Justice Rugg writes: "The words of the statute are sweeping and make no exceptions in favor of political parties, social organizations, society, or beneficiary or other associations." Indeed the words are sweeping. They have swept in Harvard crimson. Now in the home of the Pilgrims you have to content yourself with a small "H" on a large though appropriate white flag. It is stated that the Harvard Law School is preparing an amendment to exempt Harvard under the statute. If this means that Harvard is not dangerous to the existing order of society it is indeed a very discomforting reflection.

ORGANIZED Belgium relief work under the auspices of the United States Government is rapidly making progress. Funds are pouring in through various agencies, and Ambassador Page in London has now suggested to the State Department at Washington that a Central Relief Committee should be formed in the United States to coordinate the work of existing agencies and to forward and distribute all supplies. The German military commander in Belgium has given the American Minister, Mr. Brand Whitlock, a written assurance that none of these supplies will be confiscated. The English people, according to the London "Nation," are willing to contribute generously if the United States becomes responsible for distribution. This is likely, these voluntary efforts prove inadequate to the immense task of relieving the distress of a whole nation, then Belgium's Western allies, England and France, should advance out of their treasuries the millions of dollars necessary to avert an appalling famine.

WHO writes those little introductory notes that appear at the top of stories in some of the popular magazines? Not the office boy, because he is generally too tired. Not the editor, because he is generally out to lunch. Whoever it is, he is an incorrigible enthusiast; the business in hand is invariably the most tremendous or gripping or significant thing that has ever appeared in any of the known languages. Sometimes he makes an intimate personal matter of it: "What would *you* do if *your* husband ran away with—?" Often he hints darkly at the vast sums of money that changed hands when the story did. Frequently he gives, in a few pregnant sentences, what the author requires five thousand blundering words to convey. Invariably he falls down and worships. "We think," runs a recent example, "Ring Lardner, who has made folks all over the country laugh with his 'Letters of a Bush Leaguer,' is just about the keenest writer in the United States."

EX-PRESIDENT William Howard Taft has recently suggested the application of a new test to proposed amendments to the Constitution. He is reported in the New York Tribune as saying: "I am not in favor of any amendment to the Constitution, not because it doesn't need them, for I believe that we might make some minor changes which would facilitate its operation, but I am not in favor of tinkering with that great governmental instrument at a time when there are so many cranks and so many movements looking towards its total abolition." The test is, consequently, that no amendment of the Constitution should be even considered except when advocated by a group of men from which all impure members have been purged. Cranks and abolitionists must not presume to lay profane hands on the sacred instrument. It is true that this test, if successfully applied, will make the needed amendment almost an impossibility, because the organs of our national life cannot be worked without cranks, and because abolitionism has become almost a popular tradition. But Mr. Taft can certainly return a valid retort to this objection. Ever since he ceased to be President he has been imperturbably seeking to expose the cranks and abolish the abolitionists, and if they will only yield accommodatingly to the effect of this patriotic purge, there will then be no reason why the Consti-

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HUGO MUNSTERBERG pronounces upon Russia and Germany in 1914: "The German culture is active and productive; the Russian is at its best passive and uncreative. The German soul is full of sunshine; there is something gloomy and oppressive about the Russian soul." As psychologist he finds in "this inner deadness, this lack of productive energy in Russia," the mark of its backwardness in culture, and proof of a danger to European civilization. But Madame de Stael was also a psychologist who did not hesitate to generalize about races. Just one hundred years ago she wrote of the people from whom Prof. Münsterberg comes: "An indescribable silence in nature and in the people at first oppresses the heart. It seems as if time moved more slowly there than elsewhere, as if vegetation made not a more rapid progress in the earth than ideas in the heads of men. . . . The Germans have too much respect for foreigners and too few national prejudices. . . . In leaving France, it is difficult to grow accustomed to the slowness and inertness of the German people. . . . When action is necessary, the Germans know not how to struggle with difficulties. . . . The Germans with some exceptions are hardly capable of succeeding in anything which requires address and dexterity. . . . They have as much need of method in action as of independence in ideas."

ON Tuesday came the latest of all reports upon the demolition of Louvain. It is the work of a commission appointed by the Kaiser. It says there is little hope that any of the books in the library are unharmed. It places the blame for the loss of the books upon the library attendants, "who could have drawn attention to the rescue of the endangered treasures," but who "were not on the spot at the time of the burning of the houses on either side of the hall." This sounds like a reproach well deserved. It was very wrong of the attendants not to be where they could remind the burners of the library that there were books inside.

IT is a queer state of affairs when workingmen have to implore the Federal government to protect them from the state militia. Yet that is just where the Colorado situation has brought us, for the miners say that there will be another Ludlow massacre if the President withdraws the troops. This cannot mean that the strikers are looking for a chance to start a riot. It does mean that the state of Colorado has completely destroyed all faith in its good intentions. For it is clear that the strikers are convinced that law and order will not be pre- in a flower garden. But we hope for the day when

To anyone who knows the views of labor this is a complete reversal of the usual attitude toward the employment of soldiers during strikes. It suggests that men like Mr. Rockefeller may have pursued the "principle" of anti-unionism to a point where every other principle, including the sovereignty of the state, is wrecked. This is, to say the least, a stupid piece of fanaticism, an extravagant indulgence of what these absentee capitalists regard as righteousness. But to the American people it may soon present itself that the mine operators are not so absolutely essential to the mining of coal that they can act on the notion that our only choice is between their rule and our ruin.

TWELVE years ago a New Jersey judge ruled that a baby was a liability, not an asset, and awarded damages of only one dollar for the death of a child in a street railway accident. The other day the same judge, in an almost identical case, held that $1,500 was not an excessive award. Apparently there has been either a phenomenal increase in the market value of babies, or an unbelievable increase in the wisdom and enlightenment of a New Jersey judge.

GENERAL VON BERNHARDI, in a cheap paper edition, is to be found at every railway newsstand and in every hotel. He will soon appear in the anterooms of eminent dentists. Before long you will have a chance to study him while you wait at the barber's. For many an American reader Bernhardi is the only expositor of German thought. And of the extreme left wing of Pan-German thought he does give a fairly accurate likeness. But not all Germans are extreme Pan-Germans. The American reader gets from Bernhardi about as adequate an idea of Germany as—well, as a German, intent upon studying American thought, would get of us by reading Mr. William Randolph Hearst.

BOSTON has been snatched from the abyss. In the name of decency, modesty, propriety and dignity, Mayor Curley has ordered classic Greek dancers to clothe themselves in stockings or tights. Harry Lauder may still disport himself in kilts before the demure maidens of Massachusetts, not even mosquito netting wrapt about those red and naked knees; but the classic dancers must cease "offending the sensibilities of fair-minded individuals." It is a perilous age. We praise a mayor who hates to see his citizenry grovel in classic dancing like pigs

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Timid Neutrality

The attitude of our own government during the last three months shows how worthless the present treaties, unbacked by force, are, and how utterly ineffective mere passive neutrality is to secure even the smallest advance in world morality.—*Theodore Roosevelt in The New York Times, November 8, 1914.*

WHENEVER a man like Theodore Roosevelt suggests that the disarmament of peaceful nations will not produce peace on earth, a cry goes up that he is spoiling for a fight. It is assumed at once that if only he had had the chance, we should by this time have overrun Mexico, gotten ourselves embroiled with Japan, and have sent an army to the battlefield of Flanders. And so we say: "Thank God for Bryan, for the peace treaties, for a small navy and a small army."

Well, you may be thankful for them if you like. You may be glad that you have managed to avoid the risks of living on this planet; but don't talk about the need for world coöperation, the sanctity of treaties, an international court and an international police. Don't assume that the world will heed you, don't mistake your private good-will for the universal morality of nations. For if you do you make yourself the victim of your naïvete, and your dreams will turn to despair. Though the world may love you as it loves St. Francis, the world will ignore you as it ignores him.

We were all surprised at the war, stunned at the idea that such things could happen. And then we took to reading Bernhardi, Cramb, Bülow, Fullerton, and we discovered that this war had been a long time in the minds of the men who know Europe. Their speculations seem to us unbelievably cynical and cold-blooded. We learn with astonishment that the strategists of Europe had military plans drawn, that every well-informed person in England, France, Germany, and Belgium knew that Germany would probably strike through Belgium, that the Germans had built railways from Aix-la-Chapelle, that England knew where she would land her expeditionary force. We discovered, in short, that our surprise was due to our ignorance and to our miscalculation of motives. And yet, in the face of this, it is assumed that security and peace in the future can be guaranteed by more ignorance and more miscalculation. It is assumed that by not doing anything, by pretending that peace is the reward of the peace-loving, neutrality will be assured and treaties made invincible.

Chiefly because Colonel Roosevelt is free from that delusion, we believe that of all Americans commenting on the war his judgment is the ripest. We reject as the idlest superstition the idea that he enjoys war and despises peace. We honor him inevitable risk of misunderstanding which is the portion of anyone who faces a brutal situation with intellectual integrity.

The situation which Colonel Roosevelt has faced is this: How is it possible to create the beginnings of international order out of the nations of this world? Not out of a world of pacificists, not out of a world of Quakers, but out of this world, which contains only a small minority of pacifists and Quakers. For it is peace on earth that men need, not peace in heaven, and unless you build from the brutalities of earth, you step out into empty space.

The first question that arises is the maintenance of treaties. We have seen them violated not only in Belgium but in Manchuria and China. We have seen the Hague conventions, to which our signature is attached, torn up and thrown to the winds. Undefended towns have been bombarded, exorbitant levies made, hostages taken. We have not even protested. We have watched the paper structure of good-will collapse. And yet when a man like Roosevelt insists that we must create no more valueless paper, he is denounced as an American Bernhardi and the twin of the Kaiser. On this same score THE NEW REPUBLIC will no doubt be accused as a militarist organ, hostile to the good faith of the world.

If we range ourselves with Roosevelt on this question, it is because we believe that treaties will never acquire sanctity until nations are ready to seal them with their blood. England may not have been too scrupulous about treaties in the past, but to-day she stands irrevocably committed. If she makes treaties now they may mean something, and that is an incalculable advance for the human race. So with us. It is our business to make no treaties which we are not ready to maintain with all our resources, for every scrap of paper is like a forged check, an assault on our credit in the world. We must not permit ourselves to fall into the plight of Germany, where our word is distrusted by the nations. For there can be no morality of nations so long as promises are idly given and idly broken. So long as that condition prevails, distrust and suspicion will rack the world, and behind a façade of delusive promises the nations will continue to arm.

So when Colonel Roosevelt says that our neutrality does not carry with it the obligation to be silent when our own Hague conventions are destroyed, he is taking an active step towards ultimate peace. Had we protested against the assault on international morality when Belgium was invaded, our faith in public law would have been made somewhat real. For unless someone some time is ready to take some chance for the sake of internationalism, it will remain what it is to-day, an object of derision to aggressive nations. Had the United States,

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of Belgium and the rules of the Hague, ruthlessness would have received the severest jolt it ever imagined. We do not think the United States should have gone to war. We alone cannot undertake to police the world. But we might alone, or with the help of the other neutral nations, have used the pressure of our diplomacy, and so laid the foundations of effective world opinion against international cynicism. A precedent would have been established which could react on all the future. The beginnings of world organization would have been tested in fire, and the hope of peace would have taken on at least the shadow of reality.

Against all this it may be said that because we acted so as to preserve the good-will of Europe, we shall be able to exercise a guiding influence in the settlement of the war. It is an idea which gratifies not only our desire to keep out of trouble, but our vanity and our hope that we shall do great things with small difficulty. The nation is doomed to disappointment. For while the settlement may be made by a peace congress held under the presidency of the United States, the decisions will be determined by the balance of power in which the war results. The nations of Europe will have sacrificed so much that they will settle the issues in accordance with their own strength and position. And when we enter the congress with nothing but a record of comfortable neutrality, an acquiescence in the violated Hague conventions, and an array of vague treaties for a half-conceived future, our voice may well be disregarded. We shall be treated as we deserve to be treated, as a nation of well-meaning people who run no risks, and build their faith upon their simple and uncritical desires.

The Republican Dilemma

THE revulsion of popular opinion expressed in the fall elections has landed the Republican party in an anomalous situation. In spite of the preservation by the Democrats of undivided control of the government, the Republicans have won a really substantial victory. Assuming the extinction of the Progressives as an organized political group, the Republicans have only to retain their present strength and add to it a few more of the errant brethren in order to elect their nominee to the Presidency in 1916. A party which can in two years jump from eight votes in the electoral college to the possibility of a majority at the next election has "come back" with an astonishingly complete recoil, and its members cannot be blamed for loud rejoicing at their victory, and for casting once again covetous eyes on the green and fruitful valley of the Washington departments.

faction with some grains of circumspection. The really extraordinary aspect of their recovery is not its completeness but the fact that it is wholly undeserved. Can our candid Republican friends point to anything which the Republicans have done during the past two years to earn popular confidence? They have shown themselves weak in organization, poor in spirit, feeble in resources, and deficient in self-assurance. They have been wholly lacking in energetic and effective leadership. The resistance which they have made to Democrats has not attracted popular attention or won popular respect. They have not fought the aggressive tactics of President Wilson by the promulgation of an available and consistent alternative policy. All that they have done to deserve their recovery is to survive.

The Republican newspapers very generally interpret the success of their party as a repetition of the victory of 1894. The Democrats have once again proved to be unsafe custodians of American business interests. The voters have returned the Republicans to power in order to revive business and stimulate business enterprise. Their victory foreshadows increasing earnings for the railroads, an abundance of orders for the factories, protection for the farmers against Canadian and Argentine competition and a full dinner-pail for the thrifty laborer. It is a seductive programme. If some Republican leader will only announce himself as the "advance agent" of a new era of good times the cycle will be complete. The American people can then return contentedly to a worship of the idol of prosperity under the ministry of some eligible imitator of William McKinley and Mark Hanna.

We wonder how the Republicans, and particularly Republicans who have called themselves progressive, relish the prospect. Are they prepared to enlist during the next two years under the banner of some new advance agent of prosperity? Are they willing to reopen the tariff question, to call back to Washington the lobby of the protected industries, and to take the chance of increasing the prices of merchandise and commodities? What other legislation of the Democrats will they repeal in order that the existing depression may be cured? Are they going to reorganize the Interstate Commerce Commission in the interests of an increase in railroad rates? Will they amend the Federal Reserve Act and substitute as members of the Reserve Board men elected by the banks instead of appointed by the President? Will they seek popularity in various parts of the country by diminishing the number of local Reserve Banks? Will they modify the Clayton law so as to bring farmers' associations and trade unions unmistakably within the prohibition of the Sherman Act? And if there are practical political objections to the adoption of

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they adopt in order to restore to the American business man, farmer and laborer the abundance of good things which they did not enjoy during the benevolent dominion of William Howard Taft?

In short, the Republicans had better look sharp before they announce "prosperity" for the American people as the result of the election of another Republican to the Presidency. It was all very well to make promises of this kind at a time when "prosperity" was supposed to be the inevitable result of an indiscriminate stimulation of business activity; but of late public opinion has become extremely inquisitive as to the actual results of such stimulation. If tariff schedules are advanced, searching inquiry will be made as to the reasons which determined any particular duty, and equally searching questions will be asked about the effect of an increase upon wages in the industry. If railway rates are increased it will only be as the result of a full assurance that the increase in revenue will be used to make the carriers more efficient agencies of transportation.

These examples indicate how much more difficult and exacting the task of promoting "prosperity" has become. It can no longer be measured in terms of the gross or net earnings of railways, or the output of factories, or the export of commodities, or the increase in business enterprises. "Prosperity" is coming to mean an economic condition which really makes for popular material welfare. A party which proposes to make itself the custodian of the economic well-being of the American people cannot redeem its promises without undertaking a frankly socialistic programme of industrial reorganization.

Such in its bare outlines is the Republican dilemma. The Republican party has since its foundation assumed a paternal attitude towards American business. In seeking the support of the voters on the ground of its being the one safe guardian of the national economic interests, it has only been reiterating its historic pretensions. But the mere activity of business is no longer supposed to result in the prosperity of all classes in the community. The national economic interest must be promoted, not by granting to private business an abundance of opportunity and privilege, but by adopting effective administrative means of converting existing privileges into sources of popular economic well-being. The Republican programme will have to contain proposals, as concrete as those of President Wilson, which will look as if they were intended to accomplish really effective results. The promises made in a moment of reaction on the strength of past achievement cannot be redeemed by anything but very progressive economic legislation. For a serious attack upon the work of bringing about popular economic prosperity can result only in [illegible] is to adopt modern democratic methods, despite

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Sessions in Texas

SOMETHING like a legislative strike is reported from Texas, where the members are paid five dollars a day for sixty days, and only two dollars a day if the session is extended. That arrangement is of course meant to discourage long sessions, but it has also the effect of causing members to quit work and go home. Just now, when the cotton crisis confronts the state, the tendency is found very inconvenient, and the Texas newspapers are railing at the constitutional provision.

As a means of damming that torrent of legislation which is the great American nuisance, the provision is a sorry failure. At the recent meeting of the National Bar Association it was stated that our national and state legislatures passed 62,014 statutes during the five years from 1909 to 1913. Constitutional restraints upon legislative deliberation have not seemed to diminish the output, but have rather caused it to be hasty, ill-considered, and inadequately framed.

The evil is not to be reached by such mechanical means as limitation of length of sessions. Troubles of this sort are not experienced by Swiss or English legislative bodies. Indeed, Swiss experience has shown that very brief sessions are sufficient for all practical purposes. The reason is that the thoroughly democratic organization of Swiss government has long since discarded such medieval devices as the speech from the throne, presidential messages, gubernatorial messages, etc. Swiss legislative bodies expect from the administation not windy recommendations of subjects for legislation, but the legislative projects themselves. Custom requires that bills whose passage is recommended by the administration shall be published in the official gazettes, well in advance of the legislative session. Under these circumstances public opinion is intelligently developed before the legislature meets, and sessions are brief because they get right to business. The ordinary session of the Swiss congress does not extend over three weeks, but the congress always meets twice a year and generally three times, and the sessions involve no more strain and anxiety than the meeting of a board of directors. If the administration should fail to submit a bill on a subject which in the judgment of the legislature requires attention, the regular procedure is for the legislature to pass a resolution instructing the administration to prepare the bill. Members have the right to introduce bills, but the Swiss are too sensible to hamper themselves in that way. They prefer to make the administration their agent.

The cure for such troubles as Texas complains of

The Future of the Two-Party System

THE enemies of the Progressive party declare that it has been practically exterminated by the election of last week. Its candid friends cannot make a successful protest against this verdict. In certain states, such as Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kansas and California, its vote did indeed attain respectable dimensions. If it could count upon keeping the allegiance of its recent adherents, and of winning that of a similar proportion of the electorate in the other northern states, it would continue to be a formidable political power. It would still have a fighting chance of exercising a decisive influence on the Presidential election of 1916. But the degree of its collapse is not measured by the diminution of its proportion of the total vote. It is measured rather by its own impotence in the face of what was, on the whole, a not unfavorable political situation.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties occupied at the recent election a really strong position. The Democrats could make out a perfectly good case for the obligation of supporting the Wilson administration, but excellent as their record was, it failed really to interest and convince the electorate. They barely pulled through alive. The Republicans, on the other hand, had literally no case at all. The large increase in their voting strength did not indicate any corresponding increase of Republican popular political conviction. It was the expression of a depressed inertia of opinion. The voters drifted towards Republicanism because business was bad, and because neither the candidates nor the issues offered to them an object of positive political enthusiasm. A Progressive party which was equal to its opportunity would have been able to take advantage of the prevailing apathy and offer to the voter a sufficiently attractive and compelling alternative. It failed to do so; and the failure is likely to be decisive and irreparable.

The collapse of the Progressive party does not mean, however, that any final verdict has been pronounced on the attempt to create, outside of the old parties, some kind of an effective progressive political organization. No doubt the election has bestowed a renewed strength upon the two-party system; but it is the kind of strength which an old man might derive from a day of sunshine. A large proportion of the American voters have ceased to attach much importance to partisan ties. The very election that has superficially revived the two-party system furnished an unprecedented number of states which chose one kind of a partisan for governor and another for senator. The voters are becoming progressive. They resent the necessity of approving unworthy candidates for the benefit of partisan success. They are acquiring an increasing interest in particular plans of social and political improvement, and are ready to bolt in case their favorite ideas are repudiated or neglected. More than ever before they want a vote to mean something positive and definite—to count in favor of some beneficial social policy.

Two years ago the Progressives were incautiously comparing the birth of the Progressive party to that of its Republican predecessor. The event has apparently falsified the analogy, yet something may be said in its favor. While the Progressive party has collapsed, the older parties have not as yet shown any sufficient ability to adapt themselves to the new political demands. The anti-slavery agitation previous to the war raised an issue with which both the Whigs and the Democrats were unable to cope, because it was an issue which in the minds of the voters became too important to be compromised in the interest of partisan harmony. The progressive movement has gradually been bestowing a similar importance upon various parts of a social and labor programme. It may be some years before the issues become sufficiently definite and controversial wholly to destroy partisan allegiance and discipline, but a strong tendency in that direction can be plainly traced.

The really important question is, however, not whether an uncompromising progressivism will ultimately alienate the voters from Democracy and Republicanism, because if Democracy and Republicanism were succeeded by some new development of the two-party system the voters would only be changing their masters. The really important question is whether progressivism in its political aspect will not destroy the two-party system itself, and substitute for it a more satisfactory method of organizing majority rule and representing the opinions of groups of American voters.

In our opinion progressivism is having and will continue to have a tendency to undermine the traditional two-party system. That system was created to meet the needs of a democracy whose conditions and ideals differed radically from the conditions and ideals of a modern democracy, and which had no social aspirations that were not sufficiently expressed in an individualistic bill of rights. It wanted to be protected against the government rather than to use the government as an instrument for the attainment of positive public ends. Moreover, the government itself as constituted was a clumsy, unruly and undemocratic piece of political machinery. The Democratic party was in the beginning an extraordinarily effective attempt to organize an extra-official demo-

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the opposing party, which its organization necessitated, it constituted a state within a state. The two parties became the real government of the country and were obliged practically to identify partisan loyalty with public service.

But the parties which were organized to subjugate the popular will are no longer representative of the vital impulses in popular opinion. Their relation to the state has become completely reversed. A partisan system which was constituted for the purpose of democratizing an undemocratic government is now being forcibly democratized by its former dependent. The attempt will fail. Direct primaries will not convert the two-party system into a sensitive and effective instrument of the American democracy. The government itself has become the necessary agent of the democratic programme, because the programme itself has become essentially social. The American democracy will not continue to need the two-party system to intermediate between the popular will and the governmental machinery. By means of executive leadership, expert administrative independence and direct legislation, it will gradually create a new governmental machinery which will be born with the impulse to destroy the two-party system, and will itself be thoroughly and flexibly representative of the underlying purposes and needs of a more social democracy.

Politics and Banking

THE new banking law now about to come into operation through the opening of the Reserve Banks will not result in an abdication by the bankers. They are still largely represented in the system. That system consists of a great number of member banks united in twelve Reserve Banks situated in twelve cities, and federated and ultimately controlled by the one supreme body, the Federal Reserve Board. This Federal Reserve Board, which in final analysis is the director of the whole system, is entirely composed of representatives of the Federal government, two of its seven members being the Secretary of the Treasury and the Controller of the Currency, while the other five are appointed at intervals of two years for a period of ten years by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate. But the power left in the hands of the Reserve Banks themselves is great though indeterminate. It is probable that for many years the overwhelming majority of decisions rendered by the Reserve Banks will not in actual practice be reviewed or be seriously influenced by the Federal Reserve Board sitting at Washington. What the discount

None the less the direct power and the indirect influence of government over the entire financial and even the entire industrial system of the country is bound to be large and is likely to increase. The grant of powers to the Reserve Board is so wide as to constitute it one of the greatest administrative bodies in the world. Not only is it granted the supervision over the Reserve Banks and over the member banks, but it also has the power of regulating the rate of re-discount, as well as the power to permit or compel one Reserve Bank to lend to another. In other words, the discretion of the Reserve Bank is immensely wide. It is able to stimulate industry generally or in a particular district, as it is able also to limit credit where there is an appearance of inflation or over-production.

It is difficult to visualize the immensity of the power and influence to which this newly created body may ultimately attain. The stupendous banking system of the United States, with deposits vastly superior to those of England and Germany, becomes increasingly dependent upon one central administrative board whose decisions affect the welfare of a hundred million people. It is a commonplace to say that credit is control, yet in saying it we do not begin to realize all that it signifies. All industries require credit. Without credit the railroads cannot build their bridges, the steamship companies cannot sail their ships, the factories cannot turn their wheels. Credit is granted or withheld on terms fixed by the lender. In America, as in all countries, though less in America than elsewhere, this credit becomes concentrated and centralized. The question is not whether a certain amount of control over industry shall be exercised by the body granting credit facilities, but whether that body shall be a purely private concern, animated primarily by considerations of profit, or whether a large element of public control and public interest shall enter through the intervention of a governmental administrative body like the Federal Reserve Board.

The power of the Federal Reserve Board so to intervene in industry in the interest of national coordination and a national policy is likely to increase. The mere right to fix the discount rate, though limited necessarily by the prevailing economic conditions, is a potent regulative force. It is certain to be a factor in setting certain limits to over-speculation and to inflated business. There have been many times in American history when a body with the wide powers of the Reserve Board might have been able to avoid a financial crisis by taking the trouble in time. To a certain extent large bankers have at times sought to act in the same manner, but they have not had the prestige of that supreme impar-

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Board. But the powers of the Board are still wider. Not only may it raise or lower the discount rate, either generally or in a single district, but it may even use its influence to attach special conditions under which re-discounting will take place, with the result that these conditions will be imposed by the Reserve Banks upon the member banks and by these upon the ultimate borrower. If, for example, it were found to be desirable to prevent an over-production of cotton upon a falling market, or to encourage the production of secondary crops, or to stimulate or repress any wide industrial activity which was to the advantage or disadvantage of the whole nation, the means might be found in this lowering or raising of the discount rate, and in the fixing of conditions under which the marginal borrowing might take place. In such a way the basic conditions of large industries may be determined by general conditions of credit, which in turn may be fixed with that definite object in view by the great Reserve Banks acting in cooperation with or under the guidance of the Federal Reserve Board.

It will be urged by many conservatives that all such intervention will be dangerous and should be avoided. It will be argued that politicians are proverbially ignorant of finance, and that our banking policy, if it is to be largely influenced by public officials, will follow the election returns, and arbitrariness and vacillation will disgust foreigners and discourage Americans. All this, however, is a far-flung hypothesis. There is bound to be a certain stability and continuity in the work of the Reserve Board. The long tenure of office of the majority of its members will make for the growth of a tradition of fixed national policies, and will render it immune from the instant pressure of a merely impulsive and wrong-headed President. On the other hand the Board is not likely to escape so far from popular control as to become bureaucratic and grow a queue. Each President in the course of his one term is entitled to appoint two ex-officio members and two other members, and thus to secure a majority. It is an ideal arrangement, in which Presidential influence and the individual initiative of the members of the Federal Reserve Board are nicely balanced, and time is afforded in the case of a conflict of policies for a wide popular discussion.

The greatest check upon the Federal Reserve Board is likely to come not from the bankers nor from the President, but from the members of the Board themselves. It will require courage as well as deep conviction to try out their new powers and to seek to bring a little order into our national industry through the exercise of an authority specifically conferred. The whole weight of the bankers' tradition is against governmental interference, and little by little the Federal Reserve Board, however cautious, will be forced to intervene in times of grave crisis, and thus will tend to establish precedents for future intervention. Such an intervention will not be a mere meddling with the affairs of John Doe or a favor granted to Richard Roe. It will be rather a fixing of basic conditions in the interest of a large policy. The ideal of the Board must be to refrain from mere officiousness but not to shirk the labor of establishing a fixed and aggressive policy, and not to refrain from exercising in the interests of a regularization of business all the powers conferred upon the Board by the law and all the influence which inheres in its commanding position.

If this development takes place, if, as is probable, the Federal Reserve Board grows steadily in influence, we shall witness a revolution in the relations of government to industry as significant as that which marked the rise of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Compared with this great development towards an increasing governmental control over industry, all the more technical problems involved in the new banking law will sink to minor significance. The gradual retirement of national bank-notes and their replacement by notes of the Reserve Banks, the complete change in the reserve requirements of subscribing banks, the new provisions for the re-discounting of commercial paper, the permission granted to the banks to lend on improved and unencumbered farm lands, the power to do a business in foreign acceptances—all these, though important in themselves, will become mere elements in a new financial system, the crux of which will be the conscious and increasing direction of a nation-wide industry from the national capital.

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The Balkan Fifth Act

THE entrance of Turkey into the Great War, the extension of the flames of the European conflict from the Straits of Dover to the Golden Horn, naturally and inevitably provoke retrospect. There is in the arrival of Turkey on the battle line something so logical as to suggest the fifth act of a drama immeasurably grand and technically perfect.

For at bottom it was the decision of European statecraft a generation ago with respect to Turkey that explains the fact that men and women are today dying in Flanders and in Champagne. The ruins of Louvain, the fire-stricken fields of France, the still unreckoned sacrifice of the seed corn of Germany, are but contemporary tributes to the humanity, wisdom and genius of the nineteenth century, incarnated by men of state.

A generation ago the great powers of Europe sat about the table of the Berlin Congress and willed certain things. Their main purpose, the main purpose of all statesmen, was to protect their own peoples from war, to prevent their rivals from bringing home disproportionate profit. To accomplish this, the statesmen assembled in Berlin turned back two million Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia to the gentle mercies of the Turk. Similarly the Serbs of Bosnia were transferred to the actual but not the titular sovereignty of Austria. The Greeks of Epirus, Macedonia and the Aegean Islands were left beneath the Osmanli yoke. Russia was placated by leave to rob her ally Roumania of Bessarabia, inhabited by Roumanians. Roumania was quieted by a permit to seize the Bulgar land of Dobrudja.

Now consider the consequences. For a generation, each succeeding spring saw men in revolt, women dishonored, children murdered, anarchy and human agony extended over the whole region of Macedonia. In Armenia there were massacres of Christians by Kurds almost too terrible to be ignored by European statesmen. In Bosnia Servian national and racial ambitions were crushed by Austrian bayonets, and the southern Slavs entered a purgatory wholly comparable with that of Italy half a century before. From the Danube to the Aegean Islands some millions of men and women lived in agony and died in misery and shame that there might be peace in Champagne and the Rhineland, prosperity in London and Berlin.

When this condition had endured for a quarter of a century there suddenly shone forth a new phenomenon, the Young Turkish revolution. Seen now in retrospect, it was rather a tawdry thing, the feeblest of imaginable imitations of 1789. Yet it had its great moment when Albanian, Slav, Osmanli, Christian, Jew and Mohammedan struck hands and proclaimed a perpetual peace, a coming marched to Stamboul, overset the throne of Abdul the Damned, adopted a constitution of freedom.

How did the great states of Europe receive this new Balkan revolution? First, since the cardinal purpose of the Young Turkish movement was to redeem Turkish provinces, Austria hastily annexed Bosnia. Then Italy, having for half a century looked enviously out upon Tripoli, an ancient Roman province assigned to her when the "Sick Man of Europe" should die, beheld the "Sick Man" simulating health. At once Italy took an inordinate interest in the African estate, and annexed Tripoli. Finally Russia, enraged by Austrian advance in the Balkans, prevented from effective protest by Germany's appearance in "shining armor," set skilfully to work to create a Balkan alliance which should aim at the definite extinction of Osmanli power in Europe, and the creation on the ruins of a Slav confederacy obedient to Russian will and threatening Austria on the Danube as Sardinia had threatened her on the Po.

Before the first sounds of this Balkan Confederacy the feeble Turkish echo of 1789 went silent. It was a poor imitation, it was perhaps predestined to extinction; but it was the remote chance that it might succeed which stirred Europe to action; it was the prospect that there might be a Young Turkey, a Turkey strong because its citizens were free, happy, loyal, which precipitated the ruin.

Once Turkey was crushed in the first Balkan War there was a brief promise of happiness for the liberated millions. There was a chance that Bulgaria, Servia and Greece, having sunk ancient rivalries in common action, might now divide the Balkans and extend with their new boundaries the blessings which they had known in the narrower territories already theirs.

But such a possibility was fatal to Austrian ambition. Hence Austria decreed that Servia should have no "window on the sea." Holding the natural window, Bosnia, she acquired sudden interest in the Albanians who occupied the other window. Wherefore Servia must give up her Adriatic conquest. But must she then resign Macedonia, conquered by her, held by her, and promised to Bulgaria in the belief that Durazzo was to be hers?

Servia believed not; and in an instant the whole Balkan Confederacy was gone to ruin as complete as that of the Young Turkish revolution. That the inestimable blessings of peace might continue to prevail north of the Danube, Europe accepted the Austrian policy, which condemned the millions south of that stream to new horrors, atrocities, campaigns. So the Turk came back to Adrianople, the Serb, Bulgar, Greek and Roumanian joined in the second Balkan War. This was, in fact, the fourth act. But

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For this time the Balkan peoples did not sink back obediently into suffering. On the contrary there now stood forth a new, strong Servia, looking hopefully across the narrow Save to the Serbs of Bosnia, a new Slavic Sardinia, victorious and confident. There was, too, another Roumania, no longer held by Hohenzollern leading-strings, gazing with unmistakable intent upon Bukovina, Transylvania. Finally, a greater Greece, still denied Epirus to satisfy Italian apprehensions, affirmed herself an advance post of the Triple Entente.

In sum, the great idol of Europe had suddenly fallen to dust and its temple was vacant. The idol was the balance of power, the temple, the empty structure on the dunes of The Hague. Henceforth the superiority of the Triple Entente over the Triple Alliance promised to grow with each year. More than that, the ruin of Austria seemed assured, and the Slavs within and without the Hapsburg empire were dreaming of a new *risorgimento,* while Italy, committed to Mediterranean colonial aims, was fast and deliberately turning her back upon Berlin and Vienna.

So to-day we have the fifth act, the world war. The men, women and children of Macedonia, Thrace and Armenia, who were sacrificed that there might be peace north of the Danube, have died in vain, but not unavenged. Champagne and Picardy, Brabant and Flanders, East and West Prussia, Galicia and Poland, now know the horror that was the share of Macedonia for a generation.

As this terrific conflagration mounts higher and higher, the pacifists perceive in it the negation of all things sound and best in human life, extol the peace that was before, and pray that it may speedily return. Yet granting all that is said of the horror of all wars, of this war beyond all others, is there not discoverable in it proof that the inexorable antecedent condition to peace is that it shall prevail south of the Danube as well as north?

That the men and women of Flanders and Picardy should prosper, those of the Balkans have perished for a generation. That there might be peace for England, Germany, Austria, Italy and France, these nations consented to the torture of those in Macedonia. Looking backward, then, is it not possible to perceive that the thing some men called peace was, in fact, a sham, an inveracity now fallen to the estate which is the final phase of all inveracities in a world in which the truth does most remorselessly prevail?

FRANK H. SIMONDS.

Foreword on Cooperation

FROM an admirable scholar and teacher just now back from Europe, I hear these words: "I thought I knew something of my world and my race. This war shows me that I didn't. My little life philosophy has to be made all over again." There are precious few of us who do not feel this need of restatement and revaluation. Not one of the larger social problems looks the same to us. Some really great achievements had been reached, as in workmen's insurance and in preventive medicine. Other great proposals had passed the speculative stage. In England we had the beginnings of a minimum wage and a new and fairer incidence in taxation.

Upon no one of these new hopes can we now surely count. All that can be seen is that when the madness has spent itself, the need of these and kindred social measures will be more imperiously necessary than ever.

It is the writer's belief that among other greater agencies to which we must look, the movement of "cooperation" is to have new life. Out of this very desolation and impoverishment, industrial cooperation, more accurately defined, will have its own renaissance. Far beyond the territory on which this war is waged, millions are to feel a new peril to their life-standards, when the final bills come in for settlement.

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cooperative revival will be given, but in this foreword, one prerequisite is to be noted, namely, a new temper and a new sobriety in stating these problems which have been put before us under the unhappy name of "solutions."

We have a popular terminology which first misconceives the nature of our industrial and political friction, and then arouses absurd over-expectation as to what can be done to lessen it.

Not only is this true of the more impassioned proposals of those who look with contempt on "mere reform," but it is true in mischievous degree of those who move with more measured steps.

In cooperative history, the language is more temperate and subdued than that of most socialists or single taxers, yet cooperation as a "solution" is still omnipresent in the propaganda. A man as great in practical business achievement as Godin published in 1888 a fat volume, "The Social Solution." Our libraries have long lists of pamphlets in which "solution" is the conspicuous word, although tests of kindergarten simplicity would show how inappropriate the word is. It not only starts the mind on the wrong track, but keeps it there.

I have read an address from a summer school, "How Society may be Reformed," in which "Society" is treated as if it were a baby with something wrong with its gums or little insides. But "So-

point the growths are far advanced, at others they lag as far behind as the spinning-wheel (which my farm neighbor still uses) lags behind the latest textile mill. This world-tangle of habits, customs, institutions, is full of taints, survivals, atrophies, and all manner of imperfections. Behind us is a vast dateless body of traditions, all created by those who now are dead. Upon this jagged and uneven mass the present generation lives. With much uneasiness it quivers on this last outer edge during what we call a "generation," and then, with its little deposit, drops back into that overpowering majority which rules and subdues us far more than the rule of living persons. All these unfathomed depths of human usage are such a part of the present society we seek to change that we cannot stir hand or foot without measuring our little strength against it.

Much of this past is integrally a part of the "social question" and of the narrower "labor question." We may select any tiny, recent fragment of this total—let us say, the trade union. We cannot touch it with hostile or friendly hand without touching a full century of tragic human experience. The problems of those early American printers, shipcalkers, and carpenters are as passionately alive as ever; overtime, apprentices, fines, hours, wages, conditions, and, most fateful of all, the seat of power. What part of it shall be held collectively by labor and what part by the employer? Not a strike of yesterday or to-day in which these older memories are not still alive. Yet in the Senate a grave man warns us that "trade-unionism will never be *solved* until we compel them by law to be incorporated." What this gentleman means is probably this, that if labor organizations were made legally accountable, they would behave better. Such better behavior is extremely doubtful, but I do not here press that point. If "incorporation" did improve behavior, that increment of better conduct is precisely what we should get, and in no sense should we get a "solution."

Our politics are as confused and imperfect as are our industrial relations, but we do not ask, "What is the solution of politics?" In depths of perplexity beyond anything which "capital and labor" presents to our time is the question of race adjustment, yet ever and again we hear it, "the solution of the race question." So far as the inhabitants of the globe in the coming centuries can learn to live together with decency and self-respect, so far as they come to practice with each other the most elemental virtues in our religious and moral codes, so far especially as the strong learn to respect property and persons among weaker peoples, to that extent only can "solution" or "remedy" have intelligible meaning.

To ask for a "solution of human nature" is a fairly exact equivalent of these other "solutions," even as applied to the lesser term, "labor question." It is seen that something very closely resembling war, with abundant war terminology

The dispute over the distribution of what is produced has become so charged with hostilities that the legal and police system in most countries is put to the greatest strain.

Without much doubt this strain is increasing, if we mean by that a growing determination on the part of labor to break down the kind of authority which ownership and management have assumed to be theirs. The strain means more than this, because that part of our wage-earners, bent either upon the destruction of the wage system or upon very radical changes, is a growing and more determined proportion of our population. It is our peculiarity in the United States that we have added so much to the purely impulsive and irrational character of labor's protest by the unweeded total of our immigration. In no country will the strain put every protective agency to a severer test.

Now it is this strain, this struggle over the division of the product, that we ask to have "solved." We will have a "remedy" for it. I say again it is like asking for a solution of human nature. We cannot stop this strain, and even more, we do not want to stop it. We hope to guide it. It is part of economic and political readjustment, as essential to growth as it is unavoidable.

Our cry for solutions has, however, an intelligible meaning. We wish to make the struggle over the respective shares as fair and rational as we can. We wish to check the waste and savagery of a conflict that is inevitable. Terms like "relieving the friction," "civilizing the struggle," "raising the plane of competition," are all terms accurately describing such possibilities as are before us. We have been misled by "solutions" in single establishments. No country is without shining illustrations of what can be done in removing friction between "capital and labor." They are usually very successful businesses in dainties like chocolate, specialties like soap, profit-sharing in privately owned but strictly regulated city gas-works, as in English cities. A high class corporation like the Ivory Soap makers in Ohio may be said to have "solved" their labor question. So may hundreds of others, the character of whose work gives them great power of selecting their men and profits enough to be generous.

But between these individual cases and the whole national or world problem in industry, there is scarcely an item in common. A very simple word like improvement sets us right before our problem. Education, politics, the child, race contact, are open to improvement. Both within and without ourselves certain changes of temper and external regulation are possible. These may lessen antagonisms, undermine economic privileges, and widen opportunity. It is these rather humble betterments that will concern us.

It will be asked, why this pedantic fidgeting over a few innocent words? My excuse is that the subject here presented has had no such unconscious enemies as those who expected and who promised

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fatal in this, that it calls off the attention from other changes indispensable for every onward step that cooperation itself has to take. These super-claims are an error, not only because they breed chagrin and reaction, but because they misstate the nature of such reforms as lie within our influence.

So far as the case for cooperation is stated without romance or overheated hopes, it gains in persuasiveness as it gains in strength.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

Intellectual Leadership in America

A SOMEWHAT sour-tempered philosophic friend tells me that mankind has in its successive stages been governed by soldiers, priests, and lawyers, and has now degenerated so far as to submit to the dictates of the tired business man. Philosophers do not like to give us the source of their information, and we may suspect that the facts of history are too numerous and obstinate to allow themselves to be too readily mustered into universal "stages" of development. If we confine ourselves, however, to the question of intellectual leadership in this country, it does seem that it rested at first with the clergy, then passed to the legal profession, and that it has now definitely passed from the lawyers.

That the clergy has lost its claim to intellectual leadership will hardly be questioned even by its friends. Moreover, the intellectual tone of the profession, as reflected in its standard books, has increasingly softened. There may be more of what passes as the milk of human kindness in Peabody's "Jesus Christ and the Social Question" than in old Jonathan Edward's "Treatise on the Will"; but as a steady diet for a full-grown adult intellect, the fall is unmistakable. There are doubtless many highly intellectual men in the clergy. But no class can contribute much to the intellectual life unless it has the courage to face its own problems, and press the terms of its own solutions upon the general public.

America has for a long time presented the spectacle of a country not only politically but intellectually governed by lawyers. Lawyers, until recently, fashioned all the political and social ideas which the rest of the population were using. This is an anomaly in the world's history. For while the legal profession is one that is constantly making intellectual demands upon its members, its activity is on the whole conditioned by certain practical and technical demands that separate it from the common intellectual life of a nation. The view that the legal profession ought to keep up with the progress of the social sciences, at least to the extent that the medical profession has to keep in touch with the progress of the natural sciences, is vehemently denied by our legalist's view that law is law, and has nothing to do with economics, politics or ethics.

In our country the education of the lawyer has been based on the model of apprenticeship or trade-school training, rather than on the liberal a century older than our real universities, offer a curriculum calculated in the main to train one in the useful art of winning cases. There are no courses to teach the student to reflect on the relation of the law to the general life of the community. Nor are the social conditions peculiar to the bar conducive of free intellectual life. The tone is set by judges who are necessarily older and more immune to new ideas, and by the more prominent practitioners whose commercial success is not necessarily the result of intellectual culture. The reading of the presidential addresses delivered before the American Bar Association or of the arguments of such legal luminaries as Senator Root leaves one with a depressed feeling of the intellectual poverty and monotony of it all. Hardly a new argument or idea since those of Marshall or Story. Always the same obsolete learning about Anglo-Saxon liberties and Magna-Charta, the same *a priori* eighteenth century speculation about liberty, natural rights, and the eternal necessity of constitutional restraints on the legislative power, and the like. Sober history may show trial by jury and other "inalienable" rights are not of Anglo-Saxon origin, or that Magna-Charta was a somewhat reactionary document of little use to the great mass of the common people, but the historical misinformation of Blackstone is good enough for chief justices of state courts.

The legal and political theories maintained by the American bench and bar are still those which were held in Europe in the eighteenth century; but the reasons that have led all European thinkers to give up these theories, and, indeed, the very fact that there are other civilized peoples who have thought about these matters, seems entirely unknown to our intellectually provincial bar. A recent attempt by a number of university teachers of law to familiarize Americans with European thought and experience in these matters finds little favor with those who, from the impregnable heights of ignorance, denounce, as does Surrogate Fowler, all European thinkers as socialists. Is it not generally considered unpatriotic to doubt that the framers of our national constitution have said the final word in political science?

Under the circumstances the wonder is, not that the legal profession has lost its claim to leadership, but that it has so long been able to maintain it. The latter is to be explained by the fact that the work

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false theories no matter how powerful they may be. But surely there can be no denying that the lawyers no longer lead, or at least, that the people no longer follow. As one token of this, we need only remember the unanimous enthusiasm with which ex-President Taft was elected president of the American Bar Association, and contrast it with the almost equal unanimity with which he was defeated by the people's representatives in the Electoral College. There can be little doubt that the enthusiasm in both cases was due to the same trait of our genial ex-president, his lack of sympathy with the somewhat inchoate popular effort to cut loose from traditional dogmas on government and introduce some democracy in our antiquated political machinery.

Many observers of America have remarked on the growing influence of the university professor in our national life, and the advent of a former college professor to the chief magistracy of the nation has visibly strengthened this impression. But before we can confidently predict the intellectual hegemony of our university professors we ought to make sure that we have the conditions here under which university teaching can develop into a truly liberal profession. There are many indications that the public at large, and even the university professors themselves, have not as yet fully realized these conditions. Unlike any other, the American university is organized on the model of the factory. The Board of Trustees or Regents correspond to the Board of Directors, the president is the factory superintendent or manager, and the professors are the hired men or help. But as in this case the hired help do not belong to any union, they have to be more docile in their relation to their employers. Unkind critics have referred to the American professor as a member of the third sex; but Mr. John Jay Chapman puts the case more fairly when he says: "The average professor in an American College will look on at an act of injustice done a brother professor by their college president with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren . . . We know, of course, that it would cost the non-attacked rabbit his place to express sympathy for the martyr; and the non-attacked is poor, and has offspring, and hopes of advancement."

It is easy enough to explain all this when we remember that our oldest genuine university is less than forty years old, and that previously our colleges were nearly all, as most of them still are, under denominational control and little above the standard of the European secondary school. The teachers were, as a rule, men who could not be placed as clergymen, or, as Professor Gildersleeve puts it, men who, having failed to make good in foreign missions, were permitted to try their hand on the young barbarians at home. From these conditions the progress in the last generation has been as their vocation and not as a mere addition to their practice. But when we contrast the salary, the number of required teaching hours, and the general status of the American professor with those of his European confrère, the outlook is not very rosy. In 1908 one-third of our degree-giving institutions paid their full professors an average salary of less than a thousand dollars per annum. How much opportunity for intellectual culture has a man under such conditions? Even worse in the petty surveillance in private and public life to which a professor must submit. Harvard is, I suppose, the most liberal of our universities, and President Eliot is strong for freedom in all its forms. Yet one of the most fruitful-minded men that America has produced, a man whom James and Royce have repeatedly acknowledged as the source of their inspiration, was not, because of some overt infraction of the Puritanic code, allowed to lecture in any of the buildings centrolled by Harvard University. Truly the dead hand of the theologic seminary rests heavily on the American college.

A university professor is a person whose business is to discover or verify truth in a given field and teach or publish it. This obviously carries with it the right to give utterance to that which may disturb established prejudice in the field of religion, economics and politics. So long, therefore, as the professor is not completely free to teach his subject, so long as he can be intimidated by a promoting president, he will be sadly handicapped in his efforts to lead in our intellectual life.

Prediction is always a perilous business, and who can weigh the shifting social factors which determine the intellectual status of any social class? Only a few years ago the ignorance of our newspaper men on questions of art, world-literature, science and philosophy seemed hopelessly abysmal. Yet may not one hope to-day that writers like Ray Stannard Baker are blazing the way for a liberal profession that will combine the painstaking care of science with the graces of literary expression? The idea of a trained class of expert public administrators in our democracy may seem to many a misplaced dream. Yet there are many indications that the frightful waste of our natural and cultural resources resulting from the absence of trained intelligence in the management of our public affairs, is slowly but surely bringing forward well-trained men who are devoting themselves to the public business in the spirit of a truly liberal profession. And, finally, must we forever dismiss the ordinary business man, the bourgeois or Philistine, in the revilement of whom the superior culture of the Bohemian so essentially consists? When we consider that the problems of modern business are essentially those of the statesman, such as the domestic and foreign markets, the progress of technology, the subtle problems of individual and mass psychology, can we deny that there is here a field that must contribute as well as

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Jefferson and the New Freedom

NOT long ago a very eminent member of the present administration at Washington, in speaking to the students of the University of Virginia, declared with evident candor and some fervor that all he knew about the science of government he had learned from Thomas Jefferson who, by the way, so highly prized things academic that he omitted from his chosen epitaph all mention of his service as President of the United States, and in its place recorded his labors in the foundation of the honorable university that bears the name of the Old Dominion.

We have no reason to believe that the distinguished Secretary who thus acknowledged his debt to Jefferson was speaking without due deliberation. He was not just seeking to stir the enthusiasm of his youthful auditors. On the contrary, his public policies and those of the important section of his party which has long followed his leadership bear eloquent testimony to the accuracy of his declaration. If so influential a statesman and his supporters look to Jefferson for their guidance in political science, it may behoove us to reexamine in the light of the twentieth century the civilization Jefferson had in mind. What might otherwise be a pleasing historical excursion becomes a civic duty.

Unfortunately for us, Jefferson never wrote a treatise on politics such as we have from the pen of his great rival John Adams, and it is necessary to discover his system by piecing together scattered documents written for varying purposes and circumstances. In this undertaking we discover many contradictions, real and apparent.

Jefferson had a good word to say for John Adams' defence of government by aristocracies, and an equally good word for John Taylor's relentless and exhaustive attack on the system of the New England philosopher. He declared in a private letter that he was in favor of "a general suffrage" and yet when he sketched a constitution for his native state he provided property qualifications for voters. On more than one occasion he expressed views favorable to the doctrine that courts should enjoy the power to nullify acts of legislatures, and yet he smote John Marshall hip and thigh for "judicial usurpation." Like all men of a speculative turn of mind he doubtless hoped for a system too ideal for the world of fact, and like all practical men he did not allow theoretical consideration to interfere with exigent political duties.

Nevertheless, Jefferson acted in the main on a fairly consistent theory which has a meaning for us to-day, and is the more interesting in that it has descended to the political party which claims to face the problems of modern industrialism. For the creed of Jeffersonian "Republicanism," as his followers first named their faith, is the "New Free-

It would be an error to assume that the capitalistic swing of human activities which has given rise to the new creed was not observed by so keen a man as Jefferson. Factories were driven by water power, and steam engines were running in England when the Declaration of Independence was flung out to the world. In his notes on Virginia, written five years later, Jefferson shrewdly remarked upon the tendencies of European states to foster manufacturing, and after making a careful analysis of the rising capitalistic system he came to several fundamental conclusions as to its meaning for the United States. Agrarian democracy was the goal of Jefferson's analysis, just as the equally unreal and unattainable democracy of small business is Wilson's goal.

After some startling reflections on the relation of economic independence to civil liberty and republican institutions, Jefferson arrived at the principle that only farmers, owning their own land, tilling it with their own hands, looking to nature and to labor for their sustenance, could possess that independence of character which is the basis of democracy. Whoever depends upon the "casualities and caprices of customers" has set upon him the mark of corruption and subservience. Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, while those who higgle in the market place and those who labor for others in factories are on the highway to that moral decay and servility which marks the end of republics of free peoples.

Lest there be some mistake, let Jefferson take the floor himself: "Generally speaking, the proportion which the aggregate of other classes of citizens bears in any state to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption." And of wage workers: "Let our workshops remain in Europe . . . The mobs of the great cities add just so much to the support of pure government as sores do to the human body." Again: "I consider the class of artificers [artisans] as the panders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned."

These were no temporary outbursts, but the deep convictions of a determined man. They were at the basis of Jefferson's political science. He believed that the farmers, like Wilson's independent men of small affairs, should rule the country. The whole capitalistic edifice reared by the Federalists, the bank, the funded debt, protective tariff, and the promotion of industries, were odious to him because they augmented the class thriving upon the arts and chicane of trade, and the dependent class, the artisans, mobs of the great cities. Jefferson went so far as to declare that good would arise from the destruction of the public credit: the bank he de-

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ing system he looked upon as a devilish device for corruption; and the whole Federalist program he viewed as a scheme to assimilate the United States to the "rotten parts" of the British constitution. The United States Senate, which was the political stronghold of these capitalistic interests, he described as "an Augean herd."

The battle which Jefferson waged in 1800 he frankly announced to be a war of the agrarian and petty trading interests against the larger capitalistic interests. As early as April 24, 1796, he declared that on his side was "the whole landed interest," and that on the other side were "British merchants and Americans trading on British capitals, speculators and holders in the bank and public funds." And a year later he said that the issue depended upon the election of "farmers whose interests are entirely agricultural. Such men are the true representatives of the great American interest." Even his antipathy toward the British was largely based upon their affiliations with American capitalistic interests. On this line the battle of 1780 was fought, and when it was won, Jefferson directed his first message through Congress to the "agricultural part of our citizens," not overlooking the capitalistic interests yet too strong to be ignored.

The conflict of classes which Jefferson distinctly recognized came out clearly in the alignments of the campaign of 1800. From the commercial and financial centers came the plaintive plea of the holders of bank stock, public securities, and industrials, for the "widows and orphans" whose invested savings were endangered by the Virginia planter. In the upstate agrarian regions of New York, the Republicans accepted Jefferson's analysis of the conflict, and avowed themselves to be the party of the farmer battling to wrest the government from those who made money without labor. New Jersey Republicans, to be sure that no capitalistic sympathizer could slip into Congress by their route, named farmers for the House of Representatives. The rural regions of Pennsylvania did likewise, and represented their nominees to the voters to be endorsed by Jefferson as of the class which Providence had made the peculiar deposit of Republican virtue. In Virginia, the Republican Dawson found only "pestilential air" in the towns, while the spirit of '76 and Republican liberty reigned among the farmers. The upland regions of South Carolina swamped the "corrupt squadron of stock jobbers" in Charleston. The Wall Street ward of New York City went Federalist; the "clodhoppers" up the Hudson valley voted for Jefferson.

But in spite of the "glorious revolution," the tide of capitalism and industrialism swept resistlessly onward. To-day nearly half of us belong to the "mobs of the great cities"—sores on the body politic. What message has the sage of Monticello for us? What message have the statesmen and their followers whose political science is derived from Jefferson for a society founded upon "the casualties and caprices" of trade?

Our Undemocratic National Budget

REPRESENTATIVE Fitzgerald had a mortifying experience when as chairman of the Appropriations Committee he delivered the customary annual statement of the appropriations. For years the Democratic party had been contending that the appropriations were excessive and that extravagance pervaded the government service. The facts abundantly supported that contention. While Mr. Cortelyou was Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt, he pointed out that in the period 1878-1908 the net disbursements of the government had increased 400 per cent. while the population had increased less than 84 per cent. In a speech on April 10, 1909, Senator Aldrich, chairman of the Committee on Finance, made the admission, "I am myself satisfied that the appropriations made last year could have been reduced at least $5,000,000 without impairing the efficiency of the public service."

On March 4, 1909, Mr. Tawney, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, made an equally frank speech upon "the necessity of checking this growing tendency towards excess." Thus Republican party leaders admitted that the accusation of their budget management by the Democratic party was well-founded. Since then the Democratic party has succeeded to the management, but apparently the only practical result has been a fresh set of players at the same old game. Mr. Fitzgerald, while claiming that some economies had been accomplished, had to admit general failure.

The hopeful feature of his statement is the candor with which he admits that improvement may be expected only through a change of system. The evil cannot be reached and cured merely by change of party control. In that case the result will exemplify the French proverb, "The more it changes the more it remains the same thing." To the mass of the people it does not really matter whether the Treasury raiders are Republicans or Democrats. The evil results of the system—extravagance, waste and inefficiency—go on just the same. It is impossible to shame the mass of the membership, as their subserviency to their local political interests destroys their sense of public obligation and weakens their sense of party responsibility. At one time Mr. Fitzgerald tried to strike down one particularly shady practice—the sending of private telegrams at the expense of the government. There is no law authorizing that practice, and Mr. Fitzgerald characterized it as graft. But, law or no law, members consider it one of their perquisites, and when they send a telegram, charge it to the contingent fund of Congress as a matter of course. Mr. Fitzgerald mentioned one case wherein a member sent his sweetheart a telegraphic letter that cost the government sixty dollars. Such opportunities of Congressional graft still exist, for the House voted down by

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members from charging private telegrams to the account of the government.

Moreover, Congress actually forces unnecessary expenditure upon the executive departments. Mr. Fitzgerald in his budget reviews gave a remarkable instance. He pointed out that the appropriations were $6,411,550 in excess of the estimates submitted by the Post Office Department, and he went on to say that "a system which permits the grants from the Treasury for the support of any service to be 2 per cent. in excess of the sum requested or desired by those administering the service cannot be defended." It is obvious that such a system is destructive of administrative responsibility.

It is the opinion of those with opportunities of investigation that our postal service is much inferior to that of other civilized countries both in extent and in quality of service, but the men administering cannot be held responsible, for not they but Congressmen run the service. The Post Office Department is charged with the cost and maintenance of numerous buildings for which Congress makes appropriations, but the department is not even consulted about the matter. Postmaster-General Meyer, in a statement made on February 26, 1909, said that "at the last session of Congress more than twenty millions of dollars were appropriated for the construction of public buildings, for the exclusive use of post offices in the smaller cities and towns, where the department had made no recommendation for new buildings." He also said that the cost of the accommodations thus provided was much in excess of the needs of the department.

Congressional extravagance still goes on unchecked. What is to be the remedy? It is at least a great step in advance that it is now admitted that the disease is constitutional and can be reached only by constitutional treatment. The old political claptrap of "turn the rascals out" will serve no longer. It is now admitted by party leaders on both sides that conditions must be changed.

Mr. Fitzgerald's own plan of reform is in the main the same as that of his predecessors in the Chairmanship of Appropriations Committee—the concentration of appropriations in the hands of one committee. At present there are eight committees framing and reporting the regular appropriation bills. This arrangement is comparatively new in our history. Previous to the year 1865 all revenue and appropriation bills were in charge of the Ways and Means Committee. All the great revenue measures and all the vast appropriations required by the Civil War were prepared and reported by that one committee. The Committee on Appropriations was first established in 1865. The work of that committee was split up and distributed among a number of committees in 1885 as an incident of the faction war in the Democratic party.

But institutions once brought into being have a way of perpetuating themselves, even when their inconvenience is generally admitted. The proposi- bined influence of the membership of those committees, and, although often mooted, has never taken practical shape. Even if it were feasible it would only palliate the situation; it would not introduce true constitutional order, or establish democratic government in the full integrity of its functions. That can be accomplished only by regarding Congress as altogether disinterested in the expenditures. The proper function of the representative body is to confine the government to actual requirements and to hold the administration responsible for results. No appropriation should be made unless the administration applies for it, and no more should be granted than is asked. This is the fundamental budget rule of every English commonwealth, and is one explanation of the democratic character of English government. This was our own practice in Washington's time, and the framers of the constitution of the Confederate States revived and safeguarded that practice when they adopted a provision prohibiting Congress from making any appropriation "unless it be asked by the head of a department and submitted by the President."

Nothing less than a budget rule of this character will suffice and nothing more is necessary. Simple as such a reform would be, its influence upon the character of Congress would be profound, rescuing it from its debased condition as a scuffle of local agency, and transforming it into a dignified and efficient system of control in behalf of the people.

Two Impressions

Thoughts on the Sea

THE boat makes her way between the islands; the sea is so calm that it scarcely seems to exist. Eleven o'clock in the morning, and it is hard to tell whether or not it is raining.

The thoughts of the voyager turn to the past year. He sees again his trip across the ocean in the stormy night, the ports, the stations, the arrival on Shrove Sunday, the trip to the house when, with a cold eye, he scanned the sordid festivities of the crowd through the mud-spattered windows of his carriage. His thoughts show him again his parents, his friends, old scenes, and then the new departure. Unhappy retrospect! As if it were possible for anyone to retrieve his past.

It is this that makes the return sadder than the departure. The voyager re-enters his home as a guest. He is a stranger to all, and all is strange to him. (Servant, hang up the traveling cloak and do not carry it away! Soon it will be necessary to depart once more.) Seated at the family table he is a suspected guest, ill at east. No, parents, it is never the same! This is a passer-by whom you have received, his ears filled with the fracas of trains and the clamor of the sea, like a man who imagines that he still feels beneath his feet the pro-

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wharf. The separation has taken place, and he has entered upon the exile that follows it.

The Pig

I SHALL paint here the pig's portrait. He is a solid beast, made all in one piece, without joints and without a neck; and he sinks in front like a sack, jolting along on four squat hams. He is a trumpet on the march, ever seeking, and to every odor that he scents he applies his pump-like body. He sucks it in. When he has found the necessary hole, he wallows enormously. This is not the wriggling of a duck who enters the water. It is not the sociable happiness of the dog. It is a deep, solitary, conscientious, integral enjoyment. He sniffs, he sips, he tastes, and you cannot say whether he eats or drinks. Perfectly round, with a little quiver, he advances and buries himself in the unctuous center of the fresh filth. He grunts, he sports in the recesses of his tripery. He winks an eye. Consummate amateur, although his ever-active smelling apparatus lets nothing escape, his tastes do not run to the transient perfumes of flowers or of frivolous fruits. In everything he searches for nourishment. He loves it rich and strong and ripe, and his instinct attaches him to these two fundamental things, earth and ordure.

Glutton, wanton, though I present you with this model, admit this—that something is lacking to your satisfaction. The body is not sufficient to itself, but the doctrine that you teach us is not in vain. "Do not apply the eye alone to truth, but all that is thyself, without reserve." Happiness is our duty and our inheritance, a certain perfect possession is intended.

But like the sow which furnished the oracles to Æneas, the meeting with one always seems to me an augury, a social symbol. Her flank is more vague than hills seen through the rain, and when she litters, giving drink to a battalion of young boars who march between her legs, she seems to me the very image of those mountains which suckle the clusters of villages attached to their torrents, no less massive and no less misshapen.

I must not omit to say that the blood of the pig serves to fix gold. PAUL CLAUDEL.

A COMMUNICATION

Responsibility for the War

SIR: The sudden breaking of the war clouds that have hung over Europe still needs an explanation. At first glance Germany appears as the aggressor, but this view leaves out of consideration the underlying causes that have made the conflict inevitable. From any other than a conventional view it must be recognized that Germany stands for the rising economic interests of Central Europe, while the Allies arrayed against her represent the various forms of race feeling dominant in the smaller states. Each national aspiration is local, and so interwoven with interests other than economic that it blocks the social progress of the continent. One way out of the turmoil is to reduce this mass of rabid race antagonisms and unite people of similar culture into super-racial units. This is the German plan. Culture would then be put above race aspiration, and social bonds created that give to Europe the unity that America enjoys. We in America have as many races with as deep antagonisms. We overcome these differences by upholding ideals of social progress that make an appeal to all the people.

Yet as the facts are faced in the concrete, they are so colored by national prejudice that their true bearings are not perceived. Men easily degenerate into race antagonism because race traits are a vital part of their heredity. Even America has witnessed a recrudescence of national feeling during the last few months. The public, and especially the newspapers, have been carried away by a race prejudice that has long been submerged. This prejudice hides the real basis of the struggle, and makes us side with lost causes instead of sympathizing with the standard bearers of progress.

The reader should get a physical map of Europe and [illegible] continental Europe into its three natural divisions. The southwestern part, occupied by the Latin races, is high and mountainous. It has a thin upland soil which is constantly being lost through the wash of torrents. The economic resources of this region are failing, and each decade makes it harder for the overworked peasants to earn a living, to say nothing of their heavy tax burden. As a consequence of these conditions, and of the isolation due to mountain ranges, race hatred and group antagonism assume a hideous form. A race appeal can start a local war which soon extends to the more prosperous regions, or leads to internal strife, as in the Balkan struggle. Eastern Europe, now under the dominion of Russia, is in the main a semi-arid upland with limited resources. The struggle with nature is here not so severe as in Southwestern Europe, but the persistence of traditional prejudices and race hatreds is even more marked. In contrast with these two outlying portions of Europe, Central Europe contains vast fertile plains; to the west it forms the Rhine and adjacent valleys, while to the east is the rich Danube valley. It is a moderate statement to say that three-fifths of the resources of continental Europe are in these central valleys dominated by Germany and Austria. It is here that rapid progress is being made, and here the hope of the continent lies. If this region were to become united it would control Europe.

The best way for an American to visualize the European problem is to compare it with our own situation. France and Italy may be likened to New York and New England. The upland west of the Missouri is similar to Russia; the correspondence would be close if Mexico controlled this region and threatened to submerge the industrial centers to the east. The South and Central West would then correspond to Germany and Austria, which should dominate

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terest of the larger union, and no one regrets the blood and treasure that brought the repression. We fail to see that the problem of Servia and Belgium are the same as of Carolina, and that their repression would be as advantageous to Europe as the preservation of the Union was to us.

This is the physical background of the problem. The cultural setting is equally plain. The race appeal is to hatred and dissension. It would cut Europe up into minute bits, each with overlapping borders to perpetuate conflict. An alliance of diverse groups, like the present one opposing Germany, will be formed to dispute centralization as economic progress becomes threatening, but no enduring unity of such a combination is possible. Crush culture, and the old relapse into crude discordant elements will occur. In contrast, Germany appeals to culture instead of race. It would bind discordant races in a common unit with super-racial bonds. In this union that man is brother who has the same cultural standards, and not alone he who has the same color of skin or the same shaped nose.

I well remember how, as a student in Germany, this doctrine was poured into me in my first course of lectures. It transformed my viewpoint, and has since been the center of all my aspirations. Between a cultural civilization and the race idolatry in which I, like others, was bred, there is but one choice. The race patriot is a nuisance, a menace, a bar to progress. The true patriot is he who claims as his brother the man of similar interests, not he who proclaims his racial antagonisms from the hilltop. The melting-pot of civilization is gradually refining this crude patriotism, and creating new bonds that cement all races, creeds, and tongues into one harmonious whole. For this higher ideal the Germans stand, and against them are the passion, turbulence, and malice of a hundred discordant factions, united only in a common hatred of the changes that swamp their petty idols and undermine the ancient regime to which their traditional homage is paid.

To offset these well-known facts, much has been made of the difference between the Kaiser and the German people. The cry of "Warlord" has been raised to further the contention that the present struggle has been forced on the German people against their inclinations and desires. Those who make these allegations evince a crude ignorance of German public opinion. It is the professor, not the Kaiser, who forms and controls German thought. We have heard much in this country of the "Wisconsin idea," which involves the control of the State by its university. The "Wisconsin idea," however, is but a belated adoption of German methods in general use for a century. German spirit arose in the universities, throve in them, and still finds in them its best expression. The telling contrast of "the German vs. the Slav" is of university origin, and has among the professors its leading exponents. The professor rules Germany; if he has gone wrong this time, he has been right so often that he has the full confidence of the German public. His idealism has gone to the schools, and is firmly implanted in every boy's heart. The German peasant knows what his country stands for, and has a keen, intelligent devotion to its interests. Never has a nation gone into a war with so much unity, nor with so much enthusiasm. In our Civil War it took two years for the North to reach

The struggle between economic interests and race idealism has continued for centuries without decisive results. Every nation in periods of growth has disregarded the rights of its weaker neighbors. When on the defensive, it has been equally ardent to uphold them. No nation has had its policy more controlled by economic interests than England, and none has trampled more ruthlessly on the helpless. The settlements she has made with France and Russia disregarded treaties and national rights. The action of Germany in Belgium is but a repetition of what England did in Morocco and Persia. Our own policy has been equally inconsistent. We have been indifferent to the rights of Indians, negroes, and of the regions we have annexed. The South was brutally coerced. In spite of this record, we never have ceased to extol local rights, and to emphasize race ascendency as opposed to economic interests.

Progress has ever been a ruthless crushing, whether we regard it as industrial or view it in its political aspects. Growth has meant a centralization which eliminates the weak to the advantage of the strong. Belgium and Servia are to-day where hundreds of small nations have found themselves in the past. Belgium is racially and socially a part of France. Economically she is a part of Germany. One or the other fate she must in the end meet. Servia must also be either Russian or Austrian.

In deciding the issue of responsibility it must also be remembered that Germany is blocked in its cultural advance by the fact that its organization has taken place only recently. A generation ago it was but a federation of discordant elements. This means that other nations have control of regions that naturally belong to Germany and these districts can rise in civilization only as they become integral parts of the empire. With Austria the difficulties are even more severe. Not only are the races more discordant, but also the territory that naturally belongs to the nation is less under her control. The Danube valley is a great economic unit like the Mississippi valley. United in one nation, it would become the greatest industrial center in Europe. This union has been blocked first by the Turks, and later by Russian aspirations. It is the mission of Austria to overcome these obstacles and to make economic interests dominate over race hatred. A state like Switzerland must be formed on a grander scale, where race differences fade as culture gains a firmer hold upon the people.

This Austrian problem is now the focus of the European struggle. The desires of Russia and Austria cannot both be satisfied. The long-anticipated war between the German and the Slav has begun, and nations range themselves in the contest as race sympathy or economic interest dictates. In this crisis Russia is easily recognized as the aggressor. For decades her intrigue has been directed against the Turk; in aid of the suppressed Slavs a turbulent, vindictive agitation was kept up. Now that the Turk is vanquished, all this terrorism has been turned against Austria. Assassination and bomb-throwing are zealously promoted by Servian hatred and Russian gold. Austria has no middle course to pursue. She must either fight or be disrupted by racial discord. The good work of the past generation in securing economic unity would be undone, and all social advance would be retarded if Servia is not controlled. The decision for repression forced Rus-

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"Typically American"

The Miracle Man, a four-act play by George M. Cohan, from the story by Frank L. Packard. Presented at the Astor Theatre, New York, October, 1914.

WHAT foreigners think of America is a matter of slight importance. So long as foreigners begin by drinking ice-water the minute they land, they will continue to suffer dire results and form equally dire impressions. But what Americans think of themselves, and especially of things said to be "typically American," is a matter of considerable importance. Who will be right about America if Americans are wrong?

Mr. George M. Cohan, the gifted adapter of "The Miracle Man," is supposed to be "typically American." When one contrasts the Chicago stockbroker with the Kentucky mountaineer, the buoyant daughter of Oregon with the wizened great-granddaughter of Vermont, this phrase seems slightly vague. What, after all, is "typically American"? It is true that Mr. Cohan is as familiar as currency. One associates him with every blinking electric sign in the country, with hustlers and drummers, girls who are perfect peaches and men who are princes, bell-hops and night-letters, the cannon-ball express and The Saturday Evening Post. All these things, pushed into the shop-window of American life, are undoubtedly indigenous and typical. But are they really American? They come with Trade, and their homogeneity is the homogeneity of the business world. In so far as Americans are spiritually commercialized, these things are psychologically national. But where commerce stops, they stop; and the woods know them not, nor the sun on the prairie.

In its clever and definite organization, its swift manœuvers, sharp contrasts, quick changes, sprints, slides, dives, Mr. Cohan's drama affords the same excitement as the "national" game. Abasing myself before all the fans in the nation, I suggest that the reason is simple. The spirit of star baseball, like the spirit of Mr. Cohan's drama, is the spirit of the business world. It is not possible, in passing, to prove that commercialism has given the game of baseball its character. I am content to venture the suggestion that it is business enterprise which is the source of these supposed Americanisms, and not Americans who are the source of business enterprise. Popular taste in games, in the theatre, in literature, even in politics, is modified by the general business preoccupation. As Mr. Cohan himself says, busy people want succinct plays and stories—"small but complete and electric doses," just as they want a Religion Movement with a high-speed motor. It is an inevitable development, and just because Mr. Cohan is imbued with are same spirit, and is one of its really great exponents, he rivals baseball in popularity and appeal.

What sort of drama comes from the disciple of business enterprise? Mr. Cohan compares the production of plays with the same spirit, and is one of its really great exponents, servient to the patrons who hustle and drum. But, disregarding this rather refreshing difference in idiom, where does Mr. Cohan "get off"? Assuming that he has a right to can asparagus, what sort of asparagus does he can?

Judging by "The Miracle Man" there is a great deal to be said for the business ideology in drama. This play is derived from a story which "got" Mr. Cohan by the way it introduced "crooks with a sense of humor into the novel atmosphere of religion." Adapted from fiction, the play proves its adapter to have a superb nose for situation. It Cohan, equally fertile and adventurous, could move from musical comedy to a drama of religion. The asparagus might be religious asparagus, but he canned it just the same.

Where "The Miracle Man" shows the benefits of its author's commercial psychology is in its astonishing clarity and intelligence. Setting out to tell a given story, it tells that story without superfluity or waste. It seeks to show how a band of crooked New Yorkers tried to turn a remote New England Patriarch's religious miracles to their own profit, and how in doing so the crooked ones went straight. To tell such a story for a national audience, to relate it to national institutions and national ideologies, to give it the same credibility as a two-cent stamp—that was Mr. Cohan's ambition, backed by the belief that the idea was big enough to "get across." And get across it does, where many greater ideas have incontinently failed.

In spite of his own repudiation, Mr. Cohan is a genuine artist. The Patriarch in this play is a little conventionalized, but not a bit more than Walt Whitman or John Alexander Dowie. He is an impressive Patriarch, and Mr. Thompson intones him like a psalm. The cocaine fiend, also, is slightly conventionalized, and could hardly have fooled the inhabitants of Needley, Me. The girl who falls in love with the cocaine fiend is, also, not sufficiently hand-made. One would prefer a little more violet and a little less shrink. But with these objections registered, there is much in which to rejoice. As the Flopper, Mr. James C. Marlowe was quite human, funny and American. The fake cripple introduced to the shrine of the Patriarch, he revealed not only Mr. Cohan's excellent sense of humor, but also his imagination and his taste. The real cripple, acted by Mr. Percy Helton, was also admirably conceived —pallid, venomous, intense. And when the dumbfounding real miracle takes place, just after the fakers had "worked" the Patriarch for the sake of manufacturing publicity, the whole cast is maneuvred for a "curtain" of the highest emotional effect.

But in spite of the homely touches so cleverly observed, and so well conveyed by Mr. Frank Bacon as the Yankee hotel proprietor; in spite of the spacious dignity and impressiveness of the Patriarch; in spite of the Flopper's conviction that "Napoleon's noodle was a billiard ball" compared to the chief crook's; in spite of the shrewdness with which this gentleman makes good his boast that "he'd have sick millionaires throwing certified checks through the windows of the Shrine"; there is, in the denouement of "The Miracle Man," a proportion of buncombe almost too great to be borne. At no point was the tool of the crooks, passed off as the Patriarch's long-lost grand-niece, quite in the picture as real. But as time went on, and as Miss Gail Kane kept asservating that her heart had changed after five years' wicked life, and that she could not deceive the kind old man, one parted company from Mr. George M. Cohan. Miss Gail Kane undulates in voice and figure, but she is only verbally "tough." As an actress she rises, or stoops, neither to the possibilities nor probabilities of her part, so that while one is reluctantly willing to believe in sudden conversions in real life, one is quite incapable of accepting this one in "The Miracle Man." As for the men's conversions they are dreadfully reinforced by love affairs straight from the warehouse. As for the chief crook, Mr. George Nash made him too true ever to be turned good.

In piling up sentimentality Mr. Cohan is faithful to the psychology of commercialism. But some day, being full of real artistic perception, Mr. Cohan may see the truth.

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Books and Things

PROFESSOR BLISS PERRY has been giving American literary criticism a piece of advice which looks good and is bad. "Let it now serve the public without fear or favor," he says in the Yale Review, "and it will make sooner or later the astounding discovery that the public is on its side." This advice looks good because it is an exhortation to stop serving that which ought not to be served. It is bad because it is perplexing. Until Professor Perry has done some elaborating and expounding, his advice cannot easily be taken. How early in the game would he have us begin to consider the public? While we are deciding what book to read and review? While we are reading? When we are trying to define our impressions of the book, if we had the luck to be impressed? When we are trying to compose our impressions into a picture or a judgment or an explanation or what not? Who would read at all if he had to stop and consider the public before picking a book off its shelf? Who could read at ease if tormented by fear that the book might do harm to Dr. Henry van Dyke?

But suppose these questions attacked and sent to the bottom. A more distant difficulty pokes its masts above the horizon. If I try to think of the public as a herd of reading animals, the first thing I see is a crowd on Michigan Avenue. Involuntarily my imagination chooses a Chicago crowd. Perhaps because I wrongly or rightly deem a Chicago crowd likely to contain more readers, what you would really call readers, than the same number of men and women in Denver or New York. Next, descrying face after individual face, I come at last upon a mask I recognize, the mask of a distinguished visitor to Chicago, of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. To me, as to many other Americans, the word "literature" is apt to suggest Mr. Carnegie. He likes Shakespeare well enough to do duty as a specimen of the reading public.

Having found Mr. Carnegie, and fixed his image, my task would be clear if only my subject were Shakespeare. All I should have to do would be to mediate between the Shakespeare-mind and the Carnegie-mind. Unluckily my subject is not Shakespeare but August Strindberg. What shall I tell Mr. Carnegie about Strindberg? Shall I do my utmost to bring these disparate minds within signaling distance? By remarking, perhaps, that they are in non-competing groups, that their minds are complementary, that each, if Strindberg were living, might learn from the other? Or would it be more useful, while admitting that Strindberg may serve as a corrective of our American sentimentalized view of women, frankly to throw him overboard, to inform Mr. Carnegie that he can do as well or better by patronizing American authors? Shall I repeat for Mr. Carnegie's benefit this acute remark from "Impressions and Comments," Havelock Ellis's new book: "And one wonders why Americans, anyway, should go to this distinguished Swede for such a 'corrective,' when in their own country, to mention but a single name, they have a writer like Robert Herrick, whose novels are surely so admirably subtle and profound an analysis of the position of womanhood in America," and—unlike Strindberg's books—"quite reasonably sane."

And here a suspicion, long creeping nearer and nearer, pounces. When I am writing about August Strindberg asperated sensitiveness of either. Somewhere in one of his houses there is an unique Carnegie library, his own, consisting of books that have helped him. Let me enter, in deferential fancy, this place of helpful books. Let me find, after the shortest of searches, the table where those volumes are which friends who know what he likes have given him. My expectation is not disappointed. Here they lie—"From a College Window," "The Upton Letters," "Beside Still Waters," "Culture and Meekness," this last in page proofs, still unpublished. Now my task is over. I have gained the knowledge I sought. If I yearn to serve the public, conceived as Mr. Carnegie, I must write about the books he has read, is reading, or might conceivably like to read. Unless I see my duty thus, no attempt to do it will pay.

Is this task all? No, there is more. For what should I say of the books on this table if I said what I felt? I should burst into a subdued song of changing fashions, of waxing and waning popularities, of gift-books that flourish and die and make room for their successors. And after this manner would I end my song:

> There, where our mothers gave away "Lucille"
> Bulbously bound in alligator skin,
> Our wives and sisters give the still small voice
> Of blameless Benson, Arthur Christopher;
> Christopher to discover blameless truths,
> And Arthur to proclaim them blamelessly.
> Between the truths, almost as meek as they,
> Lie tracts of lowliest self-portraiture,
> Glimpses of Arthur's fluent ordered life,
> The running pen and sedentary mind,
> Tea and Te Deums, evensong and walks,
> With many a distant prospect of a duke.

Not that Mr. Benson, so far as I remember, ever talks about dukes. Yet subtly he persuades me, without mentioning them, that dukes are. Were I designing arms for his universe I should draw a duke, immanent. Even if I left out my last line, however, my remarks would not interest Mr. Benson's admirers. What can the matter be? What is the rest of the truth that Professor Perry started me in chase of? Am I ready to formulate it? I am. The literary critic who wishes to serve the public will be most likely to succeed when he writes about books that he likes. No gift is more useless to one's readers than second-hand disdain. Here is the kind of truth that makes us free—free to talk about what interests us, though nobody listen.

So I am at liberty, now, to serve the public by writing about books I like. Not forgetting meanwhile, but sedulously sidetracking that other truth, earlier discovered, according to which the public and I ought to have the same tastes. Well, we have. The public is capacious enough to hold many readers, thousands of them, who like what I like, in the same way, for the same reasons, for the same lack of reason. Thus have I won another freedom, freedom not to think of the public at all. If I care to criticize impressionistically, I shall put down whatever occurs to me while I am actually reading. Do I wish to test a book by universal standards? I have only to wait until the beat of recollection has grown fainter, until the book I've lately read is no fresher in my mind than the great, unforgettable books I forgot years ago. That is the formula, is it not, for authoritative criticism? And the reward? What did Professor Perry promise? That literary criticism, if it served the public without fear or favor, would "make sooner or later the astounding discovery that the public is on

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Holy Poverty

The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists, by Robert Wessall. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.25 net.

A BOOK like "The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists" reveals rather startlingly the class-bound nature of our English literature. We have no Zola, and we have practically nothing similar to that interesting autobiographical proletarian literature which one finds in France and Germany. It needs the strong, rank odor of a book like this to show us how incorrigibly "genteel" our fictional writing is, and how impossible it is for an Englishman, except at the risk of vitiating sentimentality, to interpret the life of other social classes than his own.

This book, written with the bitterness of relentless realism by a socialist house-painter in an English city, who himself struggled to the inevitable bitter end, bears in every line the stamp of autobiographical exactness. It is a little history of a short campaign in the eternal conflict between needy labor and shoddy capitalism. The wolfish competition of the workmen, the constant terror of unemployment, the petty tyranny of the foreman, the cringing servility to the employers, the secret betrayals, the speeding-up, the mean little frauds, the skimping of work —all are pictured with a remorseless veracity that is actually appalling.

The bitterness of mood in which such a book must have been written by a man who saw so intelligently the stupidities of the life around him and yet was completely unable to find any other milieu, produces fierce touches of satire. But like all good satire, its exaggerations are really searing truths. Neither his irony, nor his bitterness blinded the writer to seeing the world as it really was. That the book is veracious in atmosphere and expression, no one who has seen the deplorable frowziness of English proletarian life, or tasted that peculiar quality which makes British squalor the filthiest in the world, can doubt. This is no book for the squeamish. And yet the coarseness of British working-class life is sketched in broad strokes and outlines, rather than plastered on the canvas in the manner of a Zola; and there is a British silence as to sexuality.

If the book is not for the squeamish, it is not for the tender-hearted either. From an artistic standpoint or view, the absence of sentimentality is one of the most admirable features, but those who are accustomed to have their literature of poverty and misfortune sugared with pity and sentiment will find this unadorned veracity repulsive. The book must therefore depress and then outrage our comfortable classes. We are not accustomed to see the life of the workingman from his own point of view. Our literature is carefully insulated from the economic interpretation of life, with its sense of the bestial struggle for existence and its slow and interminable fight against filth and disease. It must make our comfortable class uneasy to see the whole remorseless mechanism of shoddy capitalism so unsparingly revealed, and to see men so palpably the victims of economic forces. Even the most woolen-headed of our reactionaries can hardly fail to feel the ironic sting of the phrase, "ragged-trousered philanthropists."

Such a story is a scathing critique of the whole of British civilization, and incidentally of our own individualistic and plutocratic democracy. He must indeed be a tough Englishman who can eat a good dinner after finishing it. For the insistent fact rem[illegible] gence and personal idealism of her directing classes, her free government and humanitarian religion, has failed to secure for more than a minority of her people anything more than a filthy caricature of human life. Up through the beauty of park and palace rises the stench of proletarian poverty.

It is a very good thing for the world to smell that stench. For if our directing classes and our democracy can only once feel that evilness strongly enough, they will begin to find it intolerable, as they have found it in Germany, that classes should exist below a minimum standard of life. And if we once find it intolerable we shall set to work to make it unnecessary. R. S. B.

Self-Defense and Self-Delusion

Des Deutschen Reiches Schicksalsstunde, by H. Frobenius, Berlin: Karl Curtius.

FROBENIUS'S little book, "The Illusion of Self-Defense," published many months before the outbreak of war, reveals that curious and terrible state of mind of Europe, and especially of Germany, which made war and will again make war inevitable. It is not a great book nor even a good book. It is not original, nor brilliant, nor profound. It is not in the fullest sense even truthful. But it does portray, without, perhaps, intending it, the convictions, sentiments and ideas which were last year in the minds of Europe's ruling classes and are this year in the minds of the peoples of all the belligerent nations. The book is an appeal to fear. And fear, as has been said, is an endemic latent in every heart, which sometimes rises to an epidemic. It is fear more than any other passion which drives peoples into war.

It was long believed that our great modern democratic peoples could not desire war. Emperors and financiers might be ever so belligerent, since whichever way the battle went their skins remained whole. But the ordinary run of people, the men who starved and froze in the trenches, the women who bore the undistinguished millions, and were bereft and beggared by war, what were glory and conquest to these? How much fighting was Morocco worth to the Paris cabby, or Servia to the Silesian peasant? What interest had the Leipzig bricklayer in German acquisitions in Europe or Africa? Yet if anything is certain about the war of 1914, it is that the impulse came from the peoples. Each nation was willing to fight because it believed that it fought in self-defense.

It is this persistent illusion that people are fighting only for their hearth which converts peace-loving populations to the most aggressive campaigns. Even pacifists usually believe in a man's protecting his own home. So vague, however, is the boundary between defense and aggression, so subtle and unconscious are our national preconceptions and prejudices, that the plea of self-defense is stretched until it covers the most trivial pretexts and justifies punitive expeditions and the sending of armies to conquer distant lands. The Germans honestly believed that to defend their own German homes they had to lay waste Belgium. The English believed that a war against Germany was necessary to the defense of British villages and homes. Self-defense becomes constructive self-defense, and between this and naked aggression it is difficult to draw a line.

A part of this universal illusion of self-defense is the belief that the nation is surrounded by envious and treacherous enemies. Servia fears that Austria will swallow her

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bitious Germany is encompassing her ruin, while the Germans, not merely the Bernhardis and the Moltkes and the Falkenheyns, but quiet, industrious, amiable Germans over their morning coffee, are entirely convinced that all nations are plotting against the Fatherland. Even the four and a half million Germans who vote the Socialist ticket —quite unrevolutionary Germans, be it said, at once disputatious and law-abiding—are easy converts to this belief of a peaceful nation in a world of enemies.

How could it be otherwise so long as our customary modes of patriotism are so inveterately reactionary? We believe everything good of our own nation and everything evil of other nations. We are all taught that our special people is the chosen people, that we are superior to all other breeds. Our men are more valiant, our women more beautiful, our morals more pure, our wit more trenchant. One Yankee is equal to a thousand "greasers"; one beef-fed Britisher to ten Frenchies; one Frenchman to a dozen Prussians; one German to a hundred Cockneys. In all stupid sincerity we believe that other nations envy us because of our superiority.

No nation is free from this national obsession. Yet I believe it is more general in Germany than elsewhere. This whole book of Frobenius is based on the thesis that Germany's neighbors hate her and plot her destruction. No one, thinks Frobenius, was pleased when in 1871 Germany emerged full-armed among the nations. The sword of the German Siegfried clove the anvil, while the envious dwarfs of Europe gnashed their teeth. Inevitably this alien hatred grew, for Germany in achieving success had committed the unforgivable sin. Petulant France forgot Waterloo and Fashoda to revenge Sedan and Metz; the chaffering trader, England, withdrew her fleets from the Mediterranean to strike a stealthy blow at German warships in the North Sea; Russia, the lumbering bear of the North, coveted the Balkans and Constantinople, and planned to destroy Germany, the guardian of those treasures. Nor did the Triple Entente include all of Germany's enemies. Brutal Servia was willing to wound and not afraid to strike; Belgium also was a treacherous foe, ready to open her door to France and close it to Germany. Finally there was Denmark, sullen because of Schleswig-Holstein, waiting for the day when she could safely lend her ports to an English attack. All the world was in league against Germany.

I can well understand how a patriotic Germany, reading this book of Frobenius, might be stampeded by the fear of Europe into a war against Europe. Nothing is so ruthless as fear, and all the stories, true and false, distilled into German ears for months past had been exactly calculated to produce this result—fear, and a war to avert a war. The German was asked why France was reintroducing her three years' service; why Russia was enormously increasing her military and naval budgets; why Servia and other Balkan nations were carrying on a campaign for the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, the only loyal ally of Germany. The aggressive plans of the Allies, the German was told, would be completed by 1916. Is it a wonder that the thought occurred, "Let us meet this danger by striking the first blow. Attack is the only true defense."

There are, of course, men like Frobenius who belong to other nations, and in England, France and America also the cry is "Arm! The enemy is at our gates." But it is of the essence of this illusion of self-defense that by its own action it ceases to be an illusion, and the cry of danger adds to danger. To defend herself against own military forces on the German frontier. Fear leads to force and force to fear.

It has been maintained that no melodrama could outlast the first act if the hero would but write a postal-card to the heroine explaining his real situation and his real motives. And one is forced to the conclusion that a little more frankness, a little more downrightness, and a great deal more publicity in our diplomatic exchanges might do away with at least a part of the mutual fear which runs through the European populations. How much of the irreconcilable race purposes that we read about, how much of the lust of dominion, manifest destiny, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism and what not—how much of all this is but the result of pretentious stupidities and the super-solemn discretions of the ignorant men who rule the world? Might it not be possible to make all diplomacy public, and for that matter even mobilization plans and cannon designs? Would not a little mutual confidence, even between enemies, relieve fear and therefore enmity?

It would be well if in each country books could be written advising the nation against its own aggressiveness, teaching the simple truth that the enemy of peace lies always this side of the frontier. For all these books of warning are false. Even were Frobenius's book true in what it states, it would still be abysmally false in what it suppresses. Did Germany fear France, and France not fear Germany? Did not England dread a German invasion as much as Germany dreaded a British attack in the North Sea? Until the balance is held even between the home and the foreign state, all books written to warn one nation against the other are evil. Such books create a state of mind which, given an incident like the murder of an archduke, sets a continent in flames. It is not, however, the fault of authors alone. So long as our patriotism remains crude, provincial and intolerant, so long as nations meet each other in the dark, where every half-discerned figure is a deadly foe, so long shall we have our Frobeniuses, honest and dishonest, and nations, believing that they live in a world of enemies, will be stampeded this way.

W. E. W.

Peace Through Insurance

War and Insurance, by Josiah Royce. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.00.

IF Professor Royce had known as little about anything else as he knows about insurance, would he have used that object of non-knowledge as a panacea for war? Probably not. And yet, such is the luck of philosophers, he has contributed a general scheme of ideas more fruitful to the pacifist than we are likely to get from the most specialized student of war.

It is proposed in "War and Insurance" to create a system of international mutual insurance against calamities afflicting whole nations, like pestilence and earthquakes; against certain of the incidents of war; and, ultimately, against war itself. In such a project, objections crowd upon the mind. How could we secure stability, with so large a proportion of the risks concentrated within the narrow territories of Europe, where war at one point is always likely to grow into a general conflagration? How could premiums be kept at an endurable level in the case of such notoriously bad risks as Servia and Belgium, and how could we induce such good risks as Norway and Switzerland to enter the scheme at all? How prevent a conquering nation from exacting exaggerated indemnity in view of an expected in-

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Some of these objections Professor Royce anticipates; in this sketch of his project it is impossible to meet them fully, if indeed they can be met. But we must remember that the insurance project is only the concrete material in which Professor Royce clothes the philosophy behind it. Let us, therefore, address ourselves to his general formula.

Certain human relations tend to produce dissension and hate, as certain other relations tend to produce love and concord. By acting nationally we can substitute, in ever greater measure, the concordant relation for the discordant. It is possible by this method to put an end to strife, civil and international. Such is the formula in its most general terms. The strife-producing relations are those that develop when two persons or social groups or nations deal directly with each other. Sooner or later divergence of interests, moral or material, is manifested, with resultant jealousy and division. Many a man has set out upon a long tramp with a bosom friend, to return with a new insight into the question of what Cain may have had to say in his own defense. The bickerings between England and Ireland, Austria and Hungary, Norway and Sweden, sufficiently prove that this face-to-face, or "dyadic" relation is as disastrous to the harmony of nations as to that of individuals.

The relations creating harmony are usually susceptible of a simple formulation. A, in his dealings with B, employs the services of an agent C. It is the business of C to create a harmony of interests between A and B. If you have a house to sell and try to negotiate directly with a prospective buyer, you will almost inevitably fall into conflict. Your asking price will seem excessive to the buyer, and the buyer's offer will seem derisive to you. Place your house in the hands of a trustworthy agent and this possibility is reduced to a minimum. It is the agent's business to get you to put a price on the house that will make a sale possible; it is also his business to induce the buyer to pay as much as he will.

This triangular, or "triadic," relation finds manifold expression in civil life. It is, in Professor Royce's opinion, the essential basis of civil harmony. Now, the relations between states are practically all of the dangerous "dyadic" type. Hence diplomatic crises and wars. The problem is to create new "triadic" relations between states, to serve as a basis for universal harmony.

In international finance and arbitration we have, to be sure, "triadic" relations, but these are not in themselves powerful enough to maintain peace. Accordingly Professor Royce suggests that they be supplemented by what he considers the most potent of all "triadic" relations, mutual insurance. Let a body of international trustees be established, with whom the nations may insure themselves against specified national calamities. Through such a body the several nations would be cooperating to a common end, through an agency whose business it would be to advance the welfare of each of the states insured. Assume that the calamity insured against is war; the existence of such insurance would make war in any quarter of the world a matter of direct practical concern to every nation. May it not be supposed that this would tend to concentrate the attention of the world upon means for preventing war? Insurance against fire has taught us more than all other agencies combined of the dangers of faulty construction and of inadequate protection.

What determined the selection by Professor Royce of the method of insurance, instead of some other form of cooperation, was his belief that insurance has been a chief force in eliminating discord from civil life. To the re-

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indeed provided a means whereby we may free ourselves from many hardships, but not, as a rule, from strife-breeding hardships. My house burns down, uninsured. It is a heavy blow, but certainly not one that causes me to raise my hand against my fellow man. It may be said that insurance is based upon mutuality, an insurance company is a community working together for the common good. This mutuality has a logical existence, but psychologically it is inert. I look upon the payment on a policy, not as a fraternal gift by my fellow policy-holders, but as a commodity fairly purchased by my premium payments. Insurance writers are disposed to confuse the logical aspect of mutuality with the psychological, and in this Professor Royce appears to follow them.

Again, Professor Royce apparently attaches too great weight to the technical superiority of international over national insurance. This he surely does in the case of workingmen's insurance. On the assumption that the slow progress of workingmen's insurance in this country is due to constitutional restrictions, he suggests that the difficulties would be obviated if the United States insured its workingmen in an international fund. But the crux of the workingmen's insurance problem is the division of the burden between the workers, the employers, and the state. If it were generally agreed that the state should assume the whole burden, there would not now be any constitutional restrictions in the way of national workingmen's insurance. As to insurance against earthquakes and pestilences, non-quakable and non-pestilential countries would of course not take out policies. Countries exposed to such risks might make small gains through joining in a mutual insurance alliance, but scarcely enough to lead to such action. It may be assumed that states will not associate themselves solely for the purpose of creating "triadic" relations. Buyer and seller do not quarrel if they are brought into relation through an agent, but the agent is not interpolated merely for the sake of harmony.

Granting as we must the superiority of the "triadic" relation to the "dyadic," we may question whether the antithesis between the two relations constitutes a sufficient basis for determining the forces making for concord or hostility. The "dyadic" relation is not uniformly provocative of strife. The huckster and householder may each seek to overreach the other, a pernicious "dyadic" relation. The "dyadic" relation of buyer and seller in an open market, under the ægis of the price current, provokes no personal antagonisms. The "dyadic" relation between the nation exporting staples and the nation importing them is usually productive of harmony; the relation between the nation exporting luxuries and the importing nation has usually ended in mutual hostility. Moreover, "triadic" relations are not uniformly conducive to good will. The "triadic" relation of respectable capitalist, merciless loan-shark and miserable borrower is hardly to be counted among the peacemakers. It thus appears that besides the forces set forth in Professor Royce's acute analysis, other forces deserve consideration.

Whatever exceptions we may take to the concrete content of Professor Royce's project, or to the analysis on which it proximately depends, it remains true that he has contributed an idea of extreme importance to the cause of peace. Find an object commanding the continuous cooperation of all nations and requiring the creation of an international organ whose activities shall be a significant part in the life of all peoples, and the regular conduct of such an enterprise will contribute notably to that loyalty to the world community without which a stable interna-

A Report on Best Selling

The Eyes of the World, by Harold Bell Wright, Chicago: The Book Supply Company. $1.35 net.

I

TYPE: Best seller, equipped with wholesome love story, melodrama, one violent death, one frustrated attempt at rape, three victims of their baser passions.

II

Variations from type, the 1884 model being arbitrarily chosen as a standard: A free use in 1914 of certain words which would have been taboo in 1884.

Example A: Lust, lustfulness, lust-worn. Between pages 330 and 336, both included, there are two lusts and one lustful. This is an extreme case. The rest of the book is less thickly settled.

Example B: Sex. Mrs. Edward J. Taine, the wicked married lady, 1914 model, has a "beautifully groomed and voluptuous body, instinct with the lure of her sex." The same lady's "full rounded, splendidly developed body was gowned to accentuate the alluring curves of her sex."

III

Variations from type, continued: The introduction of two scenes technically known as alcove passages.

Example A: Afternoon scene between Mr. Edward J. Taine, lust-worn victim of his baser passions, and his second wife, still young: "With tottering step and feeble, shaking limbs, Edward Taine entered the apartment. As he stood, silently looking at his young wife, his glazed, red-rimmed eyes fed upon her voluptuous beauty with a look of sullen, impotent lustfulness that was near insanity." In 1884 the possibility of lust in wedlock was not admitted.

Example B: Evening scene between Mr. and Mrs. Taine in "her own luxuriously appointed apartments." He has been accusing her of improper relations with Aaron King, a young man, a painter, a genius. She replies: " 'If it were worth while to tell you the truth, I would say that my conduct when alone with Mr. King has been as proper as—as when I am alone with you.' The taunt maddened him."

IV

Variations, continued: The mysteries of sex are more mentionable and holier in 1914 than they were in 1884. Example: "Should the development, the blossoming, and the fruiting of human lives, that the race may flower and fruit, be held less a work of divinity than the plants that mature and blossom and reproduce themselves in their children?"

The implied answer is no. In 1884 the question would not have been asked.

V

Variations, continued: The introduction of environment and heredity. Human beings are regarded as resultants, even when they are victims of their baser passions.

Example A: Mr. Taine, a "wretched victim of his own unbridled sensuality," soon to become "an unclean heap of all but decaying flesh," is "that poor product of our age." Note the word product. It recurs.

Example B: "A character that is the product of certain years of schooling in the thought and spirit of the class in which Mrs. Taine belonged, is not transformed by a single exhibition of painted truth."

Example C: Mr. James Rutlidge, victim of his baser passions and art critic. He inherited from his father ten-

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the social environment, and of the thought which accepts such characters."

VI

Variations, continued: Criticism of the existing social order. In 1884 such criticism did not abound. It amounted to hardly more than a juxtaposition of the vicious rich and the virtuous poor. In 1914 social criticism is less general and more abundant.

Example A: The choice to which the 1914 author shuts up his hero. Mrs. Taine has commissioned Aaron King to paint her portrait. This is his first commission. Shall he paint her unchaste, as he sees her, or shall he give her an innocent look? If he paints her innocent, thus being false to his vision of her, she will set in motion for his benefit a complicated mechanism of pulls, influence, cliques, clans, advertising. His future will thus be assured. He will grow rich and famous. If he paints her unchaste she will try to ruin him, and she will not try in vain.

The author believes that in the United States, at the present time, an American painter, even if he have genius, cannot succeed without the help of clans and cliques. The young American painter's predicament, as the author sees it, is a thing to be deplored. He deplores it. This is social criticism.

Example B: The American novelist's predicament, equally deplorable, is otherwise different. The painter is tempted to seek money and fame by making his sitters look pure. The novelist's temptation is to "arouse the basest passions of which the human being is capable." See the passage in which Conrad Lagrange, a repentant best seller, talks about himself:

> "I am a literary scavenger. I haunt the intellectual slaughter-pens, and live by the putrid offal that self-respecting authors reject. I glean the stinking materials for my stories from the sewers and cesspools of life. For the dollars they pay, I furnish my readers with those thrills that public decency forbids them to experience at first hand. I am a procurer for the purposes of mental prostitution. My books breed moral pestilence and spiritual disease. The unholy filth I write fouls the minds and pollutes the imaginations of my readers. I am instigator of degrading immorality and unmentionable crimes. *Work!* No, young man, I don't work. Just now, I'm doing penance in this damned town. My rotten imaginings have proved too much—even for me—and the doctors sent me West to recuperate."

This pornographic activity, carefully pursued, brought Conrad Lagrange "millions of readers." Among American novelists he was "easily the most famous of his day."

The author believes that one way to write best sellers is to write filth. This is not as it should be. These two propositions, taken together, are social criticism.

VII

Idiosyncratic, not classifiable as variation from type: The author has a genuine love of mountains. This feeling informed an earlier book, "The Shepherd of the Hills." In "The Eyes of the World" it is equally pervasive. To this feeling he owes his purest thoughts and his best writing.

VIII

Signs of progress: In this book the use of coincidence is appreciably less monstrous than in "The Shepherd of the Hills," for example, or "That Printer of Udell's."

IX

Inference: Millions of American readers are so fond of social criticism that the non-existence of the conditions criticized leaves them undisturbed.

X

[illegible] best seller, 1944 model, will contain

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR: The editorial note in your first issue does well to deplore the lack of authentic information about Mexican matters, for that lack alone has prevented an effective popular demand for different procedure by the United States. But the mystery surrounding affairs south of the Rio Bravo and our national relation to them is not wholly due to the shortcomings of the newspapers, and THE NEW REPUBLIC can not be so ill informed as to believe that it is. I must suppose, therefore, that in holding them responsible you take the role of a just prosecutor who invites a strong defense because his aim is to educe the truth.

I am not retained for that defence, but I am familiar with some of the obstacles in the way of gathering reliable and interesting Mexican news, and getting it through for publication, and I think it fair that mention should be made of them. These obstacles have been official, mainly, at the various ends and offshoots of the line.

From Mexico City, in normal times, there are two ways of telegraphic communication with this country. One is by overland government wire to Laredo. The other is by the lines of the Mexican Telegraph Company which has its main office in New York and operates its Mexican business on a partnership basis with the government of Mexico. The company wires go overland from Mexico City to Vera Cruz, where they plunge beneath the Gulf to emerge at Galveston. For many months the only line open for transmission of messages has been this cable and its overland connection with the Mexican capital.

On April twenty-first of this year, when our troops occupied Vera Cruz, the Mexico City office of the cable company was seized by Huerta, and it was not turned back to the company till Carranza entered the capital on August fifteenth. During all that time no messages were forwarded of which the de facto government did not approve, excepting those which were sent as cable dispatches to or through the State Department at Washington. These latter were therefore sent by, or with the consent of, the rump of the American Embassy. For a long time the only press messages which were permitted to be forwarded in this way, or to be delivered at their intended destination in the United States, were those written by Henry Allen Tupper or his daughter, who were in Mexico City on a special mission from President Wilson.

When Carranza released the office of the cable company to its owners, the censorship he set up was scarcely less rigorous than that which had preceded it. His domination of the cable was so complete that he caused the local manager—who had held the post for fifteen years under four governmental changes in Mexico—to be relieved of duty at that point and he was recalled to the United States. No news was transmitted thereafter which did not please the First Chief.

The other filing point in the south is Vera Cruz, where our army censorship has been in effect. In the north of Mexico Villa's interests have governed press dispatches for nearly a year. No correspondent who was not in harmony with him or with George C. Carothers, the State Department's agent, could remain in that field. It must not be supposed that I am representing that these arrangements were perfect or that they accomplished all the results hoped for; but very little information of real value has leaked through from northern Mexico. That which has come from El Paso has won renown as "Pasograms."

There has always been the mail, but in no live newspaper office can mailed correspondence be forced to equal prominence with telegraphed matter. Mailed articles dealing with the vitals of the situation have been looked upon by editors with suspicion, and if printed they have so sharply contradicted official utterances at Washington that they timistic have been the official statements that newspapers have drawn back from investigation which seemed always to challenge official veracity in a field where every effort to find out the truth was bitterly, even violently, obstructed, and where no American could entertain the least hope of protection by his home government.

Under these conditions, and having in mind that lack of popular interest to which you refer, it is not strange that the newspapers have been neither able nor willing to diffuse light upon the sorrows of our devastated neighbor, the veritable happenings on her blood-drenched soil. The intricate complexity of the task would make it difficult in the best of circumstances. The attitude of the United States Government makes it virtually impossible.

EDWARD I. BELL.

SIR: The State of New York is to vote on woman suffrage in 1915. The gain of a community of the rank, the geographical position, and social type of New York would mean the end of the struggle, and not in this country alone. The loss of New York would mean an incalculable loss to the cause. New York will not be gained if the Democrats are in solid opposition. But solid in opposition they are likely to be if the anti-Democratic policy of the Congressional Union is not repudiated by the present National Suffrage Convention.

The leaders of these young women were trained in England in the Pankhurst school of publicity and pugnacity. Their method of fierce opposition to the party in power which does not accede to their demand, although it includes long-tried friends of suffrage, is precisely hers. But Mrs. Pankhurst could at least point to a long history of ingratitude and broken promises on the part of the Liberals. These young women have no such justification; their fury is meaningless. Its effect on the American voter is worse than suicidal—it is absurd.

If the Forty-sixth National Suffrage Convention does not succeed in absolutely severing in the eyes of the general public, these blundering policies and tactics from its own solid and effective work, the fate of New York and the progress of woman suffrage in this country for years to come, will be in jeopardy. E. P. H.

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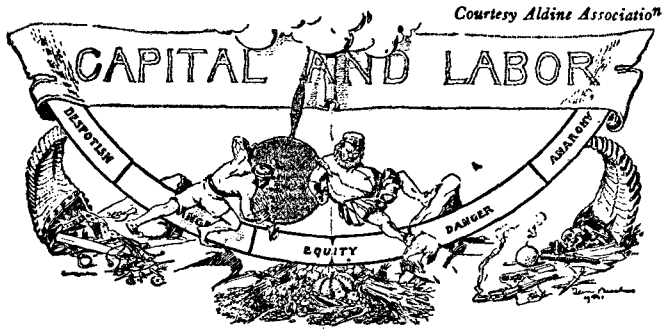

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